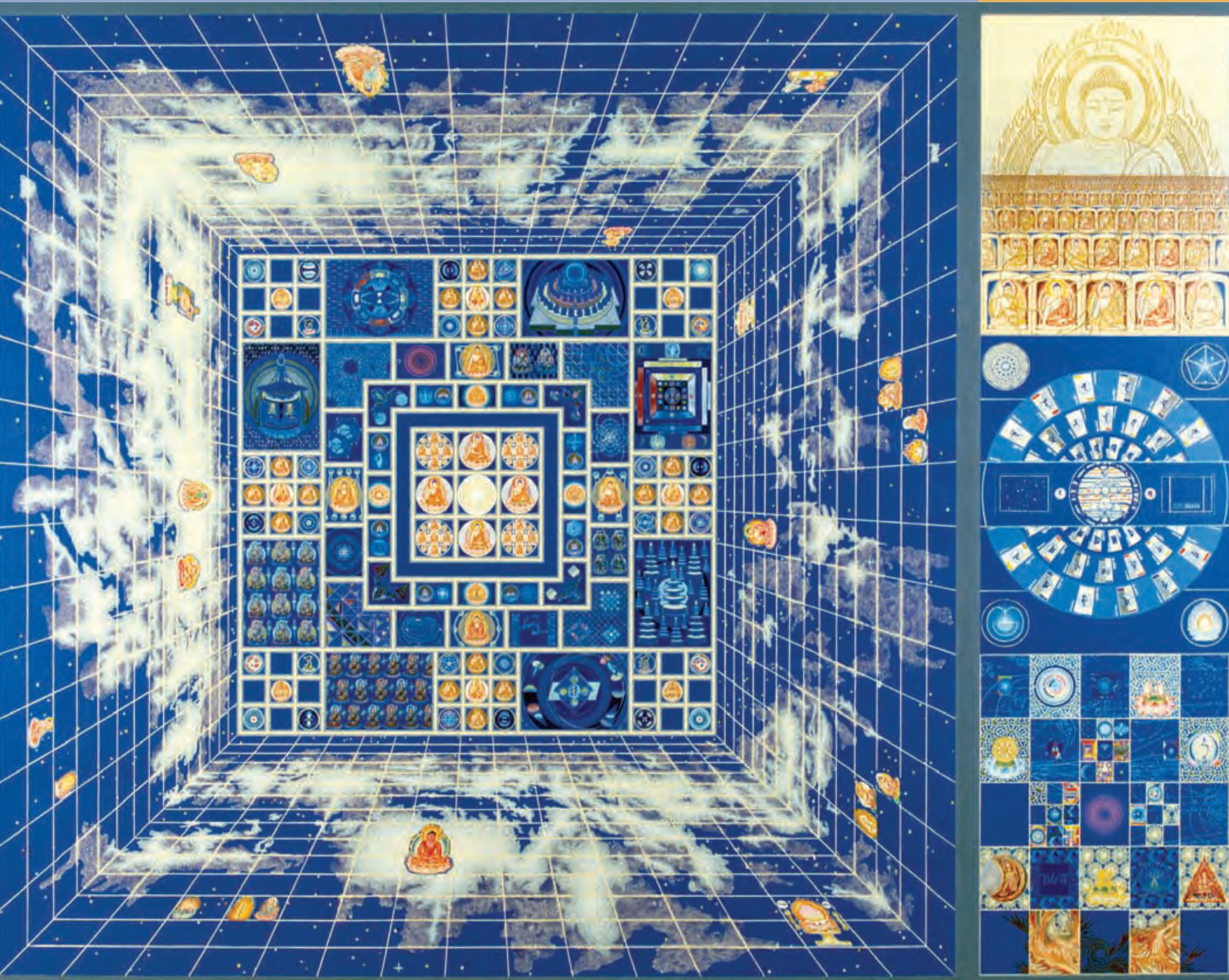
FAITH AND POWER IN JAPANESE BUDDHIST ART 1600–2005



PATRICIA J. GRAHAM

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Contents

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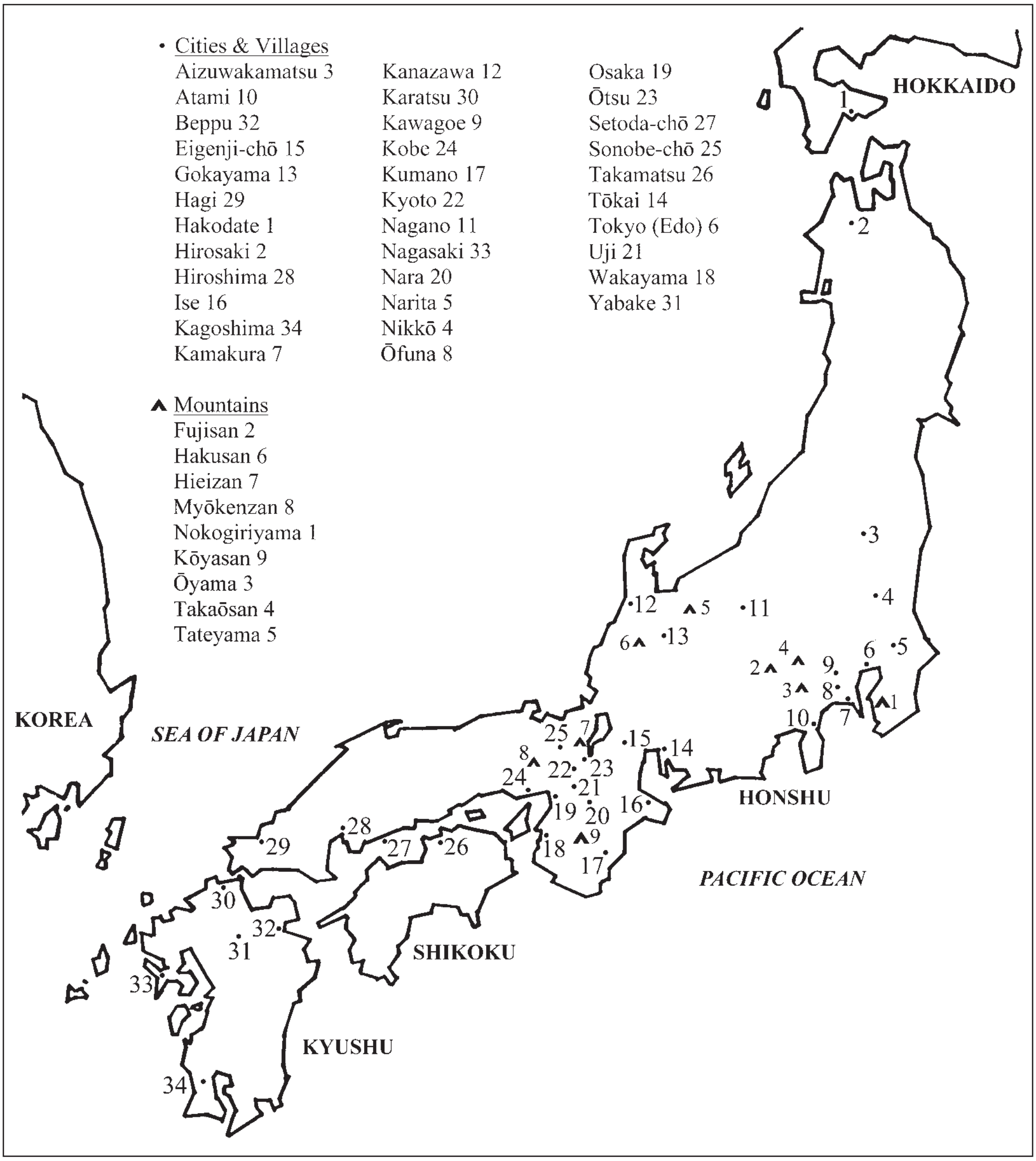
Because this book covers so much ground, I have indebted myself to myriad others beyond those listed here, including the two anonymous readers for the University of Hawai'i Press who pointed out various mistakes and omissions. Since I have strayed into many areas of research outside my expertise, I apologize in advance for any inaccuracies that inevitably still remain. My foremost intention has been to suggest new directions for research and to stimulate new ways of thinking about Buddhism and its relation to the visual arts.

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Unless otherwise indicated in the captions to the photographs, all photos appear courtesy of the owner institution or collector.

Note on Translations, References, and Usage of Chinese and Japanese Names, Dates, and Terms

ALL CHINESE AND JAPANESE NAMES, except for those of authors writing in English, appear with surname first. Following customary usage, premodern Japanese individuals and most of those born through the nineteenth century are referred to by their given or artist names. Family names are used for reference to more recent individuals and authors. Exceptions to this rule occasionally occur when I employ names customarily used for some long-lived modern artists. I state ages according to Western calculation and have converted the traditional system of noting dates according to era names into their Western equivalents. Names for important Buddhist deities and texts are given in Sanskrit (Skt.) and, when appropriate, in Chinese (Ch.). Names of Chinese residents in Japan are rendered in both Chinese Pinyin Romanization and Japanese (Jp.) initially and subsequently only in Japanese. I provide measurements in the metric system.



Map of Japan showing places mentioned in the text.

Introduction

BUDDHISM, AT ITS CORE, espouses compassion for all living things and deep respect for the sanctity of life. It richly rewards devotees who follow these principles by guiding them to a state of awakened consciousness or enlightenment (*satori* in the Zen Buddhist sects and often referred to as the Buddha Mind by Western Buddhist practitioners), freeing them from desire and releasing them from suffering within an endless cycle of reincarnation. Some denominations of Buddhism decree that the path to this self-realization lies in intense meditation and performance of rituals, while others teach that it can be reached through submission to the benevolent powers of myriad Buddhist deities.[1] Some sects preach that achievement of this awakening is possible in one's lifetime, others only after death, when the faithful will be reborn into a paradise world (Skt. Nirvāna). However, for all sects, as well as for those who practice Buddhism apart from its formal institutions, Buddhism's sacred imagery, and special sites, where rituals designed to create a receptive psyche in the worshiper take place, create an essential framework that allows for visualization of the faith's abstract beliefs.

In Japan as elsewhere, Buddhism's visual culture has always been fundamental to the faith's practice. Buddhist clerics and lay practitioners alike place great emphasis on the forms of worship halls and the appearance of devotional, didactic, and liturgical imagery. These visual materials do not merely reflect Buddhism's tenets, but also possess great power to shape them. Many places of worship emerged at particularly beautiful, awe-inspiring, or strategic locations. Religious cults devoted to famous icons spread through tales of their miraculous origins or supernatural powers. Pious teachers stressed that abstract concepts, such as visions of Buddha worlds depicted in mandalas, could best be explained through imagery, which conveyed concepts beyond the scope of words.

This book centers on an important, but largely overlooked, aspect of Japanese Buddhist arts — materials that date from the seventeenth century to the dawn of the twenty-first century. My selection of works from among the vast quantities of Buddhist art and architecture created from these centuries highlights those that elucidate the thread of change over time to the practice of Buddhism: temple worship halls and other nontraditional sites of devotion, and imagery that represents the religion's most widely popular deities or that devotees created as expressions of faith. These images, in both pictorial and sculpted form, can be found in traditional settings and in less formal locations, both within and apart from Buddhist institutions, including the modern secular environment of the art museum.

Dearth of study about these materials results from scholarly presumptions of the aesthetic superiority of early Japanese Buddhist cultural artifacts and a concomitant asserted decline in the institutional power of the religion after the sixteenth century in Japan. When assessed as a group, the visual arts reveal these claims to be erroneous. I believe they constitute a significant contribution to the history of Japanese art and architecture and provide evidence of a persistent and compelling presence at all levels of Japanese society of Buddhism, which has evolved in response to the needs of new generations of supporters both within and beyond its orthodox institutions.

When most Westerners think of Buddhism in Japan, they associate it with the Zen sects as practiced by a limited group of adepts who followed its rigorous, meditative practices on a quest for spiritual enlightenment through a focus on the awakening of their innate subconsciousness. Zen, as promoted in the West by D. T. (Daisetsu) Suzuki (1870–1966) and others, is credited with giving rise to the most celebrated of Japanese art forms, including gardens, the formal, ritualistic tea service (*chanoyu*), and spontaneous ink painting.[2] Artists in the West have found creative inspiration in Zen ideals and its related arts as well as in the practices of Buddhism's esoteric (Tantric) sects, particularly the Buddhism of Tibet and Nepal, which places similar emphases on introspective meditations.[3] Yet in reality, few Japanese Buddhists have ever been able to afford to devote their lives to the highly disciplined lifestyle required by these Zen tenets, although many of them belong to Zen and other Buddhist sects as lay practitioners. Rather, these lay followers seek in the faith something else, a way to improve their own or their loved ones' fortunes in this life or chances for salvation after death.[4]

Faith in Buddhism on the part of its individual devotees presupposes belief in the divine powers of its deities as channeled through their images. Indeed, many of the arts I consider were created in response to belief in this power. But donors frequently had another reason for their offerings of Buddhist images

and temple buildings: such donations enhanced their prestige by demonstrating publicly a link between secular and spiritual authority. That is why Buddhism was so well received in Japan by those who wielded political power. From its first appearance in Japan in the sixth century, emperors invoked the power of Buddhist deities to assure inheritance of their authority by descendants and to protect, heal, and materially benefit the nation. By the seventeenth century, individual commoners and groups of devout followers had realized that they too could elevate their social status, attaining a kind of secular power among peers as a by-product of donating great sums for temple buildings or impressive imagery. As Ikumi Kaminishi has eloquently stated, "the power of religious art empowers those who control its images. The finely made statues and ornaments housed in Buddhist temples created a theater: a showcase to display a patron's splendor" (2006, 16).

Very broadly, this book has three main goals: (1) to reassess the canon of Japanese art history to allow for the inclusion of later Buddhist imagery and architecture; (2) to define the social history of recent Japanese Buddhist art and architecture; and (3) to identify Buddhism as an important source of inspiration for artists and architects whose work is generally not associated with institutional Buddhism and its canonical visual requirements. I intentionally do not organize this book along traditional lines, distinguishing among arts and architecture for the various Buddhist sects or following the separate stylistic or hereditary lineages or workshop ateliers of artists.

The buildings included in this study are mainly those designed for worship at Buddhist sites, with emphasis placed on defining their cultural contexts and functions. I discuss style and building techniques only when relevant to issues of religious practice or popular perception. The imagery I survey illuminates major liturgical, devotional, and didactic practices. Much of this Buddhist imagery is based on orthodox iconographic models, but artists invoke popular styles of the day to dynamically transform them into images that resonate with their audience. In the context of discussing these images, I emphasize how the people involved with the production of Buddhist imagery, as both makers and patrons, both reflected and shaped changes to the nature of religious practice. My study also encompasses the creations of Buddhist image-makers active in Japan's modern period (after 1868) that are not traditionally defined as "Buddhist art" because they have no association with institutional Buddhism. Artists created these often nondenominational and seemingly heterodox images of spirituality, loosely inspired by Buddhism, as an expression of personal and private religious faith, sometimes during the maker's unique forms of meditative practices. These types of images are often designed for display not in temples or other formal places of worship, but in art museums. Inclusion of this material helps to define

Buddhism's broader impact on Japanese culture. It also underscores an ever-increasing tendency toward the separation of Buddhist worship from its institutions and the intertwining of religious practice and secular culture.

This study begins at a seminal moment in Japanese Buddhist history, when the warrior Tokugawa Ieyasu (1542–1616), the first of fifteen successive Tokugawa-family shoguns who ruled Japan during the Tokugawa or Edo period (1600–1868), consolidated power over the nation in the early seventeenth century.[5] In broader classifications of Japan's history, scholars define this era as the early modern period, a precursor to Japan's modern era, which is conventionally agreed to begin with the overthrow of the Tokugawa house and the restoration of imperial authority at the inception of the Meiji period (1868–1912). Scholars generally note that key elements of modernity include shifting the locus of power from regional feudal lords to a strong central authority and from the religious to the secular sphere.[6] Tokugawa Ieyasu is widely credited with initiating these shifts in Japan, in part by suppressing the threat to his and his descendants' authority by powerful Buddhist institutions, a policy begun on a more limited scale by his immediate predecessors Oda Nobunaga (1534–1582) and Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536–1598), the warriors who attempted to unify Japan in the Momoyama period (1568–1615). The scholar Neil McMullin has described this moment as a time when "Buddhism underwent not just a 'quantitative' change, in the drastic reduction of the temples' power, wealth, and independence, but also a 'qualitative change.' . . . Buddhism lost the privileged, center-stage position that it had occupied in Japanese society for almost a millennium and was relegated to a minor position in the wings" (1984, 5). This is the widely held perception about the state of Buddhism in Japan and the attitude of the country's rulers towards it from the Momoyama period forward, and one that a number of scholars from various Japanese studies disciplines, including myself, now question.

The general assumption has been that the Tokugawa shoguns, beginning with Ieyasu, sought to wield power outside of and over Buddhist institutions' spheres of influence by invoking another belief system, Chinese Confucianism, as their authority in ethical matters. Confucianism, founded in the sixth century BCE, evolved over the centuries to become a complex ideology, knowledge of which the Chinese imperial bureaucratic system relied on to train its civil servants. These bureaucrats were selected for service by proving their knowledge of the Confucian classics, mostly moralistic tales, in rigorous examinations. Confucianism specified each person's function in society and taught officials to administer with justice, compassion, and order and assume responsibility for their subjects. The masses in turn would obey the authorities because just laws benefited all strata of society. In short, the ideal Confucian society was one in which all citizens knew their place and what was expected of them, and this mutually beneficial arrangement led to social stability and a flourishing civili-

zation. Confucianism encouraged education to enrich, calm, and sharpen the mind and offered examples of proper behavior in its texts — detailed descriptions of the lives of a group of ancient sages who lived honorably by following Confucian principles. Students of Confucianism could attain this sagelike wisdom through mastery of four scholarly pursuits: painting, calligraphy, playing *go* (a board game), and proficiency with the musical instrument called *qin* (a type of zither). Of course, neither the Chinese nor their Japanese counterparts fully realized Confucianism's vision. Further, in the case of Tokugawa Japan, the philosophy's tenets were considerably revised to adapt them to a social hierarchy quite unlike that envisioned by China's Confucian adherents.

Confucianism had first become influential as a value system among elite warriors in the Momoyama period. Learned Buddhist clerics who had studied it as part of their education in Chinese language and civilization helped spread it among their warrior patrons. Written Chinese was the language of the Buddhist scriptures and of Confucian texts, and literature based on Confucian principles was an integral part of monastic life in China, which Japanese monks, especially those of the Zen sects, had learned to appreciate from their Chinese mentors since the preceding Muromachi period (1392–1568). Yet in a newly published book on the life and times of Tokugawa Tsunayoshi, Beatrice Bodart-Bailey argues that Confucianism remained virtually unknown among the general population until the fifth Tokugawa shogun, Tsunayoshi (1646–1709; r. 1680–1709), encouraged his vassals, the daimyo (the elite samurai warriors who administered the various regional domains into which the country was politically divided), their samurai foot soldiers, and the nation's commoners all to study it.[7]

Bodart-Bailey convincingly argues that the domination of Confucianism over Buddhism through the four Tokugawa shoguns prior to Tsunayoshi is a myth perpetrated by the authors of the *Tokugawa jikki* (The memorable true record of the Tokugawa shoguns). This text, written to serve as an official history of the reign of the first ten Tokugawa shoguns, was compiled between 1809 and 1849 by Confucian scholars working for the shogunate. Its air of authority is so convincing that most subsequent scholars consider it factually correct. Bodart-Bailey notes, however, that there have been some who question the common interpretation of a passage in this document that states Ieyasu "wisely decided that in order to govern the land and follow the path proper to man, he must pursue the path of learning. Therefore, from the beginning he encouraged learning" (Bodart-Bailey 2006, 50). This is normally taken to mean that he promoted Confucianism in his new realm, although he "established no Confucian schools or Confucian public service examinations, nor did he delegate important administrative functions to Confucian scholars" (Bodart-Bailey 2006, 51). Bodart-Bailey concludes instead that Ieyasu made Buddhism his state religion because "it was the only system that could provide the Tokugawa hegemony with the

kind of ideological and administrative support Shinto afforded to the imperial institution" (2006, 52).

Shinto, Japan's native religion, explained the divine origin of the country by *kami* (Shinto divinities), who continued to reside in the land to protect the nation and its inhabitants. The earliest tales about the origin of Japan in the eighth century relate that the imperial family directly descended from these *kami* and thereby are themselves divine. Thus the stability of the country depended on perpetuation of the imperial lineage.

According to Bodart-Bailey, only when the fifth shogun authorized the founding of the Yushima Seidō as the first official Confucian academy in 1690 did Confucianism become central to shogunal policies. But even then the shogun did not exclude or demean Buddhism. Yet Tsunayoshi received only mixed praise from the authors of the *Tokugawa jikki,* partially because the authentic Chinese form of Confucianism he promoted stripped the daimyo of their power, and the authors held great sympathy for the rights of the daimyo to rule their domains as they saw fit (Bodart-Bailey 2006, 295–297).

In China, the political elite that promoted Confucianism used it to create a stratified society with the emperor at the apex, followed by his civil servants, who were selected by merit. The rest of the population, generally defined as commoners, was ranked according to their perceived public worth: farmers came next, followed by artisans, with merchants at the bottom of the social ladder. Education provided a path for individuals to rise above their inherited status and enter the civil service system. Japan emulated this system only partially because it had no tradition of promotions based on intellectual accomplishment, which ran counter to its more rigid social structure predicated on inherited status. Also, because of belief in the divine origin of the imperial lineage, the emperor and his extended family were excluded from this hierarchical categorization, as were priests and outcasts. Through might, since the thirteenth century, the warriors (the samurai class) had established themselves as the highest status group in Japan. However, status did not always equate with wealth in Japan. The aristocrats had become impoverished by the Edo period, and merchants were getting richer. This conflict between status and affluence began to create fractures in the system, especially for samurai, many of whom lost their livelihoods due to their own or their overlord's transgressions and to the linkage of their income with the rice market, whose value fluctuated considerably in relation to annual harvest yields. As the distribution of wealth changed and citizens from the different classes came to interact in shared cultural pursuits, class distinctions began to dissolve. Nevertheless, the Tokugawa insisted on maintaining status distinctions, a factor that contributed to their eventual downfall (Bodart-Bailey 2006, 298).

From the latter part of the Edo period, Buddhism had begun to be loudly

criticized by both intellectual supporters and detractors of the Tokugawa clan as well as popular writers, who complained that its institutions and clergy had become degenerate and corrupt and devoid of morals and that Buddhist temples had grown too numerous, thereby straining domain treasuries, peasantry, and townspeople.[8] When scholars in the early Meiji period began constructing a history of Japan's premodern civilization, they took these complaints seriously. When combined with the *Tokugawa jikki*'s lauding of the Confucian ideals promoted by the early shoguns, the result was that Buddhism and its visual culture were conspicuously absent in discourses identifying the defining features of Japanese culture and society of the Edo period in historical memory (Gluck 1998).

These critiques have influenced the direction of much modern scholarship on Edo-period Buddhism, which has lagged behind Buddhist studies of other periods.[9] They have also contributed to the long-standing and widely held scholarly perception, recently challenged by younger Japanese scholars, that talented artists and craftsmakers of this era expended greater effort on their production of secular arts, many influenced by Confucianism, than on Buddhist imagery, resulting in a substantial decrease in the quality — both aesthetic and technical — of Buddhist art and architecture then created.[10] Recent studies in Japanese, especially catalogues of exhibitions by the eminent Japanese art historian Tsuji Nobuo and some younger scholars, many of them his former students, have begun to reassess this contention.[11] As for scholarship in Western languages, except for copious writings about Zen painting and calligraphy,[12] a few studies of important sites associated with the highest-echelon samurai,[13] unusual images (by imperial nuns),[14] and some materials categorized as folk arts,[15] much of this later Buddhist art, and especially its architecture, remains overlooked.[16]

Because of these biases, until quite recently few Japanese Buddhist sites and little imagery of the Edo period were surveyed at all or considered candidates for conservation. Much recent and still preliminary effort towards restoring newer buildings is due to municipal or prefectural initiatives rather than national ones. Since the late nineteenth century, the national government has instead encouraged this de-emphasis of later Buddhism's material culture with its policy of assigning designation as Important Cultural Properties (Jūyō Bunkazai) mainly to older imagery and buildings associated with famous and ancient Buddhist temples built for the elites. The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the global preservation organization, has reinforced this perception by adding a number of early Japanese temple complexes to its list of World Heritage Sites. Current restoration practices in Japan celebrate mainly the antique structures at these sites at the expense of more recent, but still premodern, ones (Enders and Gutschow 1998, 55). For example, specialists dismantle some early Edo-period structures so that they can create modern replicas, with varying degrees of accuracy, of the earliest buildings at these sites.

They also seek to reconstruct the original appearance of buildings lost to natural disasters centuries after construction. These practices obscure or devalue the evolution of Buddhism and its material culture in Japan.

When most art historians study early modern and modern-era Japanese arts and architecture, they overlook most Buddhist materials and do not consider the broader issue of Buddhism's cultural impact on these arts because their studies focus on the arts of the secular world: residential architecture and the creations of individual, often eccentric, artists, multigenerational ateliers of artists working for wealthy and elite groups in society, and art associated with the urban townspeople. Such historians assess these arts within specific media, a practical approach that closely links aesthetic studies to that of the technical production.[17] Since most scholars have been trained to regard only Japanese Buddhist arts of the ancient and early medieval periods (seventh through mid-fourteenth centuries) as Buddhist art worthy of consideration as "art," they do not recognize this omission.

These ancient and medieval Japanese Buddhist sculptures and paintings first became exalted as artistic masterpieces during the late nineteenth century by Japanese and American scholars, who included them in their newly created art history canon — a canon that has only recently, and slowly, begun to change.[18] The large body of ancient and medieval Buddhist imagery, originally created in service to the religion and not as art in the modern sense, came to form the core of this early canon, in part because very little early secular art had survived.[19] Those who first conceived the canon sought to demonstrate both that the Japanese possessed a cultural heritage equal to that of European nations and that Japan belonged to the modern world of academic scholarship. They privileged older art over that of more recent times, partially to position their new era of modernity as superior to the backward culture of the immediate past. The foreign scholars who contributed to the canonization of this early Buddhist art did so for these and other reasons, including their romanticized notion of the need to reassert the importance of spirituality into discourses on modernity.[20]

As with much of the European canon, the Japanese canon focuses on art and buildings dignified by their great age, by their creation in the old imperial and political capitals (Nara, Kyoto, and Kamakura), by the elite status of their patrons (the imperial family, courtiers, and high-ranking samurai warriors), and by their association with identifiable and prestigious artists or artistic lineages. Scholars proclaimed their highest admiration for the most sacred of the early Buddhist imagery, bronze and carved-wood icons placed on the altars of worship halls, despite the fact that only a few of the numerous surviving examples of Buddhist imagery fit into this category. More recent Buddhist arts and architecture — especially those associated with temples largely patronized by commoners, buildings and images at provincial temples, and the often anonymous

images created in bronze or stone and frequently found amidst temple grounds or carved upon the sides of buildings — were largely omitted from this canon.

Admitting the more recently produced Japanese Buddhist material into the canon of Japanese art challenges conventional notions of the parameters of Japanese art. I do not question the aesthetic and technical merits of these early arts and architecture that have led scholars to value them so highly. Yet emphasis on products made in the old imperial and political capitals of the distant past for the elites of Japanese society has caused much worthy material to escape scholars' scrutiny and has skewed understanding of the sustained impact of Buddhism and its arts on later Japanese cultural history. Determining what material culture of any civilization to consider as art is always the subjective judgment of the person or group undertaking the assessment. Art is a defining creation of the human spirit and is only sometimes synonymous with luxury products for elites or, recently, with modernist creations of individuals who define themselves as artists.

My assertion of the need to reassess the canon of Japanese art history to allow for the inclusion of these later Japanese Buddhist materials derives from recent studies in historical consciousness and the history of taste. These reveal connoisseurship (judgments on authentication and aesthetic quality) as highly subjective, shaped by a number of factors, including personal preferences, politics, fashion, and access to materials.[21] Particularly in the case of Japan, traditionalist scholars decree that the technical sophistication, the rarity and cost of the raw materials, and the high social standing or wealth of the patrons determine whether or not a particular artifact should be defined as art. This emphasis stems from Japan's intense desire for equality with Western nations during the Meiji period, the time when Japanese scholars first defined the national canon of art in the late nineteenth century. This attitude persists and holds true even for many recent broad studies of Edo-period arts, including those in Western languages.[22]

As the materials presented in this book will show, from the seventeenth century onward, although the elites did continue to influence the production of Buddhist imagery and sites in Japan, commoners, sometimes wealthy and sometimes not, became an even greater force in the construction of the physical appearance of later Japanese Buddhist culture. So, too, did private, personal, and often nondenominational expressions of religious devotion. Because these tendencies first appeared in nascent form during the Edo period and have continued to proliferate during the modern and contemporary eras, I believe it crucial that a study of later Japanese Buddhist art and architecture begin with Edo-period developments and encompass this broad four-hundred-year time span. Understanding modern Japanese Buddhism's prosperity and the religion's continued stimulation of artistic production requires a solid grasp of Edo-period Buddhism's mate-

rial culture. Conversely, the significance of Edo-period artistic achievements in the Buddhist realm becomes clearer when examining the relationship of that period's Buddhist-inspired art and architecture with later materials. Curiously, because of arbitrary divisions of scholarly inquiry on the part of scholars working both in Japan and in the West that generate separate studies of premodern and modern Japanese art and architectural history, I know of no studies that address this significant relationship between the Buddhist art and architecture of the near past and the modern and contemporary eras.

Furthering my conviction of the need for this book to encompass modern Buddhist art and architecture is the fact that specialists of modern and contemporary Japanese art and architecture — that is, those who focus on artistic developments after the Meiji Restoration of 1868 — even more than those who specialize in Edo-period art, ignore it. They generally do not consider modern religious objects made for temples in workshops of professional Buddhist image-makers as art and focus instead on the creations of independent secular artists.[23] Similar omissions plague scholarship on modern and contemporary Buddhist architecture.[24] These omissions stem from scholars' belief that Buddhism has continued to decline in cultural importance, where it serves only as a framework for administration of funeral rites and memorials to the deceased or as an ideological platform for cultlike new sects. Thus significant art and architecture could not possibly be produced in its service. This attitude reveals that the Japanese scholars who constructed the discipline of Japanese art history in the late nineteenth century possessed awareness of the ideas of European intellectuals, primarily sociologists, who in the first half of that century had begun to belittle the value of formal religious institutions to the modern world. Such critiques derived from Western civilization's Enlightenment period have continued well into the twentieth century and are now described as the Secularization Theory of Modernity (Promey 2003, 584). This theory became a potent issue for Japan as it sought to reinvent itself as a modern nation on equal footing with Western powers. Its impact on the belittling of traditional religious practice during the modernization process of various Asian nations has been noted by a group of scholars studying modern Asian religion.[25] Indeed, their complementary studies of discrete religious practice in various Asian nations revealed that religion and ritual are essential to "the life of 'modern' nations and communities, in Asia, as elsewhere" (Comaroff 1994, 301).

The relationship of this secularization theory to the study of art has been addressed by Sally Promey, a scholar of American art history who noted that until recently modern religious imagery has not been considered part of the canon of American art. She argues that this exclusion is closely tied to this theory, which has significantly shaped the direction of modern art historical studies in

Western civilizations. She notes that this theory, "harnessed to a developmental model of civilization, suggested that religion's lasting impact on Western cultural production was negligible," and more specifically that "modernization necessarily leads to religion's decline, that the secular and the religious will not coexist in the modern world, that religion represents a premodern vestige of superstition" (2003, 584). She further notes that "according to this conceptual framework, religion represents an immature, or 'primitive,' stage in cultural evolution, a trace of civilization's childhood that stultifies and inhibits the mature imagination" (584). Consequently, she concludes that according to this theory,

> art assumed the place of religion, a new locus for spirituality as religious dogmatism and orthodoxies seemed to render impossible authentic spiritual expression in that traditional domain and that the marginalization of religion has been reinforced by prevalent modernist intellectual assumptions concerning religion's restriction of creative individuality, its responsibility for an inferior aesthetic or taste culture, and its presumed universal proclivity toward conservative, sectarian, and ideological obsessions. (585)

Perhaps most significantly, Promey also points out that an important aspect of the argument for the obsolescence of religion in the modern world revolves around the issue of how social science scholars define the discipline of religious studies. She notes how they tend to separate studies of religion from that of spirituality, with religion emphasizing the formal, doctrinal, institutional, and public side of religious practice and spirituality referring to more private and personal religious concerns. Yet she believes, as I do, that religion should be understood in its broadest context, encompassing spirituality, which "in this sense, intersects life and art at multiple and complex, even competing and contradictory, sorts of commitments and engagements within a single artist, artifact, or beholder" (583).

Thus in one sense modern spirituality can be construed as the logical progression and transformation of traditional religion into the modern age. But as Promey notes, imagery inspired by nonsectarian spirituality accounts for only one side of modern religious visuality. Traditional religious institutions and their rituals continue to thrive in the modern world, where they inspire the production of orthodox religious imagery.[26] Even before I read Promey's arguments, I had begun to question the omission of this large body of later traditional religious material culture from the Japanese art and architecture canon, influenced by my readings in the emerging interdisciplinary fields of material and visual culture studies. Yet as relatively young and not so clearly defined fields of inquiry, their parameters and methodologies are not entirely consistent.[27] These disciplines encouraged me to seek to expand the canon of Japanese art history as well as to

study religious artifacts for reasons other than aesthetic assessment, including probing discrepancies between doctrine and religious practices and the intuitive appeal of sacred icons for reasons other than aesthetic attraction.[28]

My methodology is also informed by new approaches to the study of Japanese religion pioneered by the Japanese scholar Tamamuro Fumio (b. 1935) and his disciples in the West. He encouraged the study of religious life among individuals other than eminent priests, of localizing the study of religion, and of transcending sectarian boundaries.[29] These important social facets of Buddhist worship in Japan have remained overlooked until recently because many religious studies scholars study the history of individual sects separately. Following Professor Tamamuro's lead, I look at the material products of the religious life by and for overlooked groups of devout worshipers: women of various social classes, from those associated with imperial Buddhist convents to the wives of high-ranking feudal lords; urban townspeople; and newly powerful feudal lords who patronized existing provincial temples and founded others. I also examine Buddhist imagery made for provincial temples by itinerant, self-taught monks and by artists trained originally in Nara or Kyoto workshops. This provincial patronage of image-makers from the old capitals accounts for increased dissemination of urban artistic influence from the nation's cultural centers to its peripheries. Also influenced by Professor Tamamuro, I explore how devotional imagery represents the transcendence of sectarian boundaries. This took place in various ways, such as through deities that commanded universal appeal, and through artistic styles employed to represent imagery associated with one sect of Buddhism, such as the abbreviated brush paintings of Zen monks, that became appropriated by artists affiliated with other sectarian traditions.

Omitting later Buddhist art and architecture from the Japanese art and architectural canons denies the existence of a significant body of material, including the Buddhist-inspired creations of independent, secular artists. Many of these artists are best known for their wholly secular work, though they often undertook religious commissions not only to earn money, but also because of their deep personal devotion. Many also produced images of popular religious subjects for lay clients that were intended not for repository in religious institutions, but in private residences. At the same time, devout amateurs, both priests and laity, became increasingly involved in the production of Buddhist imagery for dedication to temples and for use in home altars. In the modern period, a number of artists have also incorporated religious imagery and ideas into creations intended not for places of worship, but for display in art museums, galleries, and other secular spaces. The work of all these artists reflects important, new, and largely overlooked developments in the practice of Buddhism in later Japanese culture.

I divide this book into two broad chronological sections. Part I explores Bud-

dhism in the arts of early modern Japan, roughly 1600–1868, emphasizing patronage of worship sites and the production of Buddhist imagery with larger political, social, and economic concerns of the time as a backdrop. The first three chapters survey important and representative Buddhist sites for people from all levels of society, from the elite samurai and aristocrats to commoners, who range widely from wealthy urban dwellers to residents of small, rural villages. Chapter 1 assesses Buddhist policies and temples patronized by the ruling Tokugawa family, whose leadership, funding, and taste dominated Buddhist temple construction at the beginning of the era and influenced much of what came afterward. In chapter 2, my focus shifts to Buddhist temples patronized by the nation's elites who served the Tokugawa, the high-ranking samurai (daimyo), and the aristocrats, whose funding depended on Tokugawa largesse. I also introduce a newly formed Zen sect, Ōbaku, patronized initially by both the shoguns and the imperial family and later also by commoners. This chapter leads into a discussion in chapter 3 of the transition to popular, commoner support for Buddhist institutions and worship practices, such as pilgrimages and public exhibitions of temple treasures. The overall diversity of sites surveyed reflects the wide range of motivations for patronage of Buddhism at that time. The remaining three chapters of part I focus on Buddhist imagery of the era. Chapter 4 introduces several deities newly popular at the time whose devotees have continued to proliferate and other types of religious practices that inspired imagery production. Chapter 5 considers both the patrons and makers of professionally made images that were created nationwide for virtually all the different social groups in Japanese society. Only some of these makers belonged to the hereditary ranks of specialists' workshops; most others were freelance, secular artists. Chapter 6 addresses religious imagery created as personal, visual expressions of faith by both amateur devotees and professional artists, sometimes monks and nuns and sometimes lay Buddhist practitioners, of various ranks in society.

The four chapters that make up part II concentrate on Buddhist visual culture in Japan's modern age, 1868–2005. The first two chapters survey various aspects of pre–World War II Buddhist arts. In chapter 7, I focus on government policies and changes within Buddhist organizations that encouraged resurrection of the faith in the aftermath of government-authorized persecution in the early Meiji period. Increased acceptance of Buddhism resulted in funding for reconstruction of worship halls and creation of new and diverse types of sacred imagery for temple compounds. Chapter 8 focuses on the transformation of sacred imagery from icon into art, stimulated by two important developments. The first was the government's new policies on preservation of cultural heritage that prominently included Buddhist temples and their treasures. The second was the rise in modern scholarly studies of the faith that led to its separation from its institutions and its domination by nondenominational practitioners who expressed

their devotion privately and personally. Influenced by this latter current, devout Buddhist secular artists began, for the first time, to create Buddhist images for display as art in galleries and museums rather than halls of worship. The final two chapters look at Buddhist sites and imagery in post–World War II Japan. Chapter 9 explores some of the most unusual and representative of the many modern and contemporary Buddhist sites of worship, and chapter 10 focuses on makers of modern Buddhist art, including traditional workshops of professionals serving Buddhist organizations, independent secular artists inspired by personal devotion who create both representational and abstract imagery inspired by Buddhism, and devout laypersons who function as both makers and patrons of Buddhist devotional art.

Part I

Buddhism in the Arts of Early Modern Japan, 1600–1868

The copious and diverse Buddhist arts and sites of worship from the Edo period were created by and for people from all levels of society. They facilitated the practical needs of Buddhism's many followers to pray for salvation in the afterlife or betterment of their present lives. Throughout Japan's history, the aristocrats and upper echelon of the warrior class expended great sums of money on imagery and decorations for temples, considering these expenditures meritorious deeds that aided their spiritual goals, as asserted in some of the Buddhist scriptures. Similar to practices in other religious traditions, Buddhism celebrates such beautification of worship spaces and sacred imagery as "an exuberant celebration of visuality as a path to [Buddhist] illumination and insight through the experience of 'awesome beauty' (*shōgon*)" (Yiengpruksawan 1998b, 2).

The newly rich merchants, actors, and other celebrity commoners emulated these elite practices and avidly patronized Buddhist temples as well. No less abundant than Buddhist arts for the wealthy and those aspiring to the values of the elites are the humble and anonymous examples of sacred Buddhist imagery designed by and for the rest of the population: working-class urban residents, itinerant tradespeople and clerics, and rural peasants. Buddhist cosmological concepts, sometimes in association with popular, syncretic superstitious beliefs, inspired the production of much of their devotional art. The many new temples and diverse Buddhist images created at this time served all segments of the population, sometimes simultaneously and sometimes separately. These reflect the determination of the Buddhist clergy and devotees of this era to practice their faith despite strict bureaucratic control of Buddhist institutions by the shogunate.

Chapter One

Institutional Buddhism under Warrior Rule

THE WARRIORS WHO struggled to unite Japan under their military rule during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries understood that their ability to govern effectively meant controlling the nation's powerful Buddhist institutions and aligning themselves with the faith's spiritual authority. The actions they took in these regards had profound ramifications on the character of the practice of Buddhism thereafter in Japan. This chapter explores the use of religious institutions by these warriors, especially the first five Tokugawa shoguns, under whose direction most of the officially sanctioned Buddhist temples of the early modern era were erected.

Buddhist Policies of the Momoyama-Period Military Leaders

The first Tokugawa shogun, Ieyasu, based his strategy for subjugating Buddhist temples on those of the warrior generals who first began the process of unifying the nation during the Momoyama period. The initial unifier of that era, Oda Nobunaga, gained authority over Buddhist institutions at a heavy price. He demolished many important temple complexes and treated clergy mercilessly. Nobunaga did not have enmity against all Buddhists, just those he perceived as threats to his hegemony. At the time Nobunaga came to power, numerous Buddhist sects had existed in Japan for centuries, each appealing to different types of followers. Nobunaga distrusted the esoteric (Tantric) Tendai and Shingon sects patronized by the old elite warrior and aristocratic clans since the Heian period (794–1185). Both sects were founded in the ninth century by monks who traveled

to China and returned with new doctrines. Tendai (Ch. Tiantai), named after the mountain headquarters (Mount Tientai) of the sect in southern China, was founded by Saichō (posthumous name Dengyō Daishi, 767–822). Its doctrine is inclusive and eclectic, embracing esoteric and Zen meditative practices as well as elements of Pure Land beliefs (discussed below), and it stresses devotion to the highly influential Lotus Sutra (Jp. Hokke kyō or Myōhō renge kyō; Skt. Saddharma pundarīka sūtra; discussed later in this chapter), all of which paved the way for the formation of new populist sects in the thirteenth century. Shingon (Ch. Zhenyan; the "True Word" or "mantra" sect) was established by Kūkai (posthumous name Kōbō Daishi, 774–835). Its secretly transmitted doctrine allows for the possibility of attaining enlightenment in this life, not some future existence, to followers who learned its complex visualization rites that were focused on schematic mandalas and incorporated chanting, meditating, and ritualized hand movements. As it spread among the populace, its priests came to function like shamans, performing divination rituals and offering believers talismans and special rites as prayers for practical benefits as well, such as good health and material success. By the Momoyama period, their success at proselytizing resulted in their temples accumulating huge tracts of arable land, and consequently great wealth, which their militant monks vigorously defended.[1]

Nobunaga also attacked the powerful, wealthy, fortress-like Osaka head temple, Honganji, of the Jōdo Shin sect (the True Pure Land sect; Jōdo Shinshū), commonly known today simply as the "Shin" sect. This sect was a particularly militant denomination whose leaders refused to surrender autonomy to a secular leader. It was one of the largest denominations of the Pure Land sects, founded in the Kamakura period (1185–1336), that proselytized most heavily to commoners. The basic tenet of the Pure Land sects espouses an easy path to salvation, especially attractive to the masses of commoners in premodern Japan who, though literate in native Japanese, could not read Buddhist texts, which were written in Chinese. Believers could attain rebirth after death in the Western Pure Land Paradise, presided over by the buddha Amida, the Buddha of Light, who resides in the Western Paradise (Skt. Amitābha), through pure faith in him, as demonstrated in simple chanting of his name (reciting the *nenbutsu*).

By Nobunaga's time the Shin sect had attracted the largest numbers of followers of any Buddhist denomination, and Nobunaga's successor, Toyotomi Hideyoshi, saw the benefit in placating its supporters, so he relocated its headquarters temple, Honganji, to Kyoto, in large part to better oversee it. In contrast, his usurper, Tokugawa Ieyasu, recognized that the Shin sect's power could threaten his authority, so he divided it into two branches, both remaining headquartered in Kyoto. The Ōtani school (Shinshū Ōtani ha) head temple is Higashi (East) Honganji, and the Honganji school (Shinshū Honganji ha) is at nearby Nishi (West) Honganji. More will be said about these temples in chapter 7.

Although the two Zen sects (Rinzai and Sōtō), also established in the Kamakura period, had long been patronized by the wealthy and elite warriors and courtiers, they managed to evade the wrath of Nobunaga because they did not train their monks as warriors or seek to expand their landholdings. Also, the great Rinzai sect's monasteries in Kyoto were deeply respected because they had long served as centers of learning about China, considered the most cultured civilization in premodern Japan. For that reason, these temples continued to be supported by the warrior leaders through the Tokugawa period, although antagonism with them and one of the emperors over selection of their clerical leaders (traditionally, the emperor awarded prelates this position) led the Tokugawa shoguns to seek ways to curtail their power (discussed below and in chapter 2, in connection with the formation of a new Zen lineage, Ōbaku).

Nobunaga also funded construction of some temples of another Pure Land sect, Jōdo (Jōdo shū), which he situated near his Azuchi Castle in Kyoto. He used them to help make the site the center of Japanese society in all arenas — political, economic, and spiritual (McMullin 1984, 222–223). Finally, Nobunaga began a process, later expanded upon by the Tokugawa shogunal government (*bakufu;* lit. "tent government," rule by a military authority), of exerting power over religious institutions by establishing an Office of Temple and Shrine Administrators (Jisha Bugyō) (McMullin 1984, 225). His policies, though extreme, culminated in a course of action that earlier shoguns of the prior Muromachi period had begun but whose weakness prevented implementation on such a grand scale (McMullin 1984, 234).

Toyotomi Hideyoshi, an intelligent and ambitious warrior of humble birth who had previously served as one of Nobunaga's generals, became the second authoritative military general of the Momoyama era after Nobunaga's assassination. He also sought to diminish the power of the Buddhist institutions, but while he did engage some militant temple monks in battle, he is known more for his reconstruction of Buddhist institutions, especially those destroyed by Nobunaga, such as Honganji, than for their destruction. He also ordered the relocation of many Kyoto temples to consolidated districts so as to better monitor the actions of their clergy (Hickman 1996, 39).

Representative of Toyotomi Hideyoshi's attitude towards Buddhism is his construction of a giant Great Buddha (Daibutsu) statue, commissioned in 1586 for enshrinement in a new Great Buddha Hall at Hōkōji, a Tendai sect temple he founded in Kyoto. The creation of giant-sized buddha images was tied to continental beliefs and sutras that expounded the salvific powers of large images of buddhas (Konno 2003, 115–120). The hall housing this Great Buddha was the largest premodern Japanese structure ever built at 45m high × 81m long × 50m wide (Berry 1982, 196–198). The original statue no longer survives, but a small (50:1) scale model done in the 1660s in preparation for a restoration (completed

in 1664) suggests its appearance at that time. The statue represented the cosmic buddha Birushana (Skt. Vairocana), the same buddha enshrined in in 752, during the Nara period (710–794), by Emperor Shōmu at the Great Buddha Hall at Tōdaiji in that emperor's new capital city of Nara. Unlike the earlier image, made of bronze, Hideyoshi's original statue was wood, coated with lacquer and polychrome. When initially completed in 1596, its 24-meter height put it several meters above the Tōdaiji Great Buddha (Sakai-shi Hakubutsukan 1997, 68). Its maker was Kōshō (1534–1621), a *busshi* (professional maker of Buddhist statues) who headed the Seventh Avenue Atelier (Shichijō bussho) of Kyoto. This atelier had been formed in the twelfth century to serve elite aristocratic patrons. Over the centuries it garnered a reputation as the best Buddhist image-making workshop in Kyoto and consequently continued to receive commissions from elite warriors and courtiers for images they donated to the nation's most important temples through the seventeenth century.

In order to weaken any potential opposition groups, Hideyoshi commanded all the nation's domain lords over whom he ruled to support the temple and statue construction project by having them and all their vassals contribute samurai swords (which were melted down for use as nails and other metalwork), money, many thousands of commoner workers, and construction materials. Yet soon after completion an earthquake destroyed the statue and the building that housed it. Supporters of Hideyoshi's son and successor, Toyotomi Hideyori (1593–1615), soon commissioned a new Great Buddha and a hall to house it, as well as a pagoda, lecture hall, and covered corridors. This time the statue was to be bronze, but during the casting process in 1602, when the project was nearing completion, the statue and the buildings were accidentally destroyed in a fire. Again, Toyotomi loyalists had the statue re-created sometime between 1609 and 1616 (Watsky 2004, 216–219).

Ruined once more by a natural disaster in 1622, the Great Buddha was reconstructed one final time, again in wood, in 1664. Genshin, a sculptor of Kōshō's lineage, has recently been identified as the sculptor in charge of this effort, as well as the maker of a maquette (fig. 1.1), which is all that survives to suggest its appearance today. Descriptions of the statue and its inner structure at the time of its rebuilding in the 1660s closely match the model, which hinges open to reveal its inner support structure, a complex wooden lattice framework (fig. 1.2) (Chō 1998; Sakai-shi Hakubutsukan 1997, 68–69). This last construction stood until 1789, when it was hit by lightning.

Hideyoshi intended for the statue to symbolize his power over the nation's political and religious spheres, as had Emperor Shōmu's statue. Significantly, the earlier statue and its building actually lay in ruins at the time Hideyoshi commissioned his Great Buddha. It was restored only in the late seventeenth century (see chap. 5). The two rulers who conceived these statues had very different ideas



1.1. Genshin (active mid-seventeenth century). Scale model for the Great Buddha statue at Hōkōji, Kyoto (front view of exterior), 1660s. Gilt wood. Height: 35.4 cm. Tokyo National Museum. Photograph: TNM Image Archives.

about the relationship between political authority and the religion. The earlier statue represented the unification of Buddhism and the state and served to protect the nation through the efficacious power of Buddhism in a system known as *chingo kokka bukkyō* (Buddhism for the protection and preservation of the nation).[2] The power of Buddhism to protect the nation had been recognized by political leaders before Shōmu, but the system achieved full flowering under his reign through construction of the national monument of Tōdaiji as well as his establishment of regional temples (*kokubunj*).

Hideyoshi's monument, however, was created for another reason and marks a major shift in focus for sponsorship of temples by political leaders. He intended the temple to honor the spirit of his deceased mother and other ancestors, influenced by the growing importance of Chinese Confucian values, which stressed filial piety (reverence of one's ancestors). Soon after Hideyoshi's death, the temple took on yet another purpose — to serve as the affiliate prayer hall for a newly constructed Shinto shrine mausoleum constructed adjacent to it, the Toyokuni or Hōkoku (Wealth of the Nation) Shrine, in which Hideyoshi was interred by his supporters and apotheosized as a Shinto deity. His supporters undertook this venture in a short-lived attempt to secure perpetuation of his lineage by equating his importance, and that of his family, with that of the emperors, acknowledged descendants of Shinto *kami* (Watsky 2004, 204–206).



1.2. Genshin (active mid-seventeenth century). Scale model for the Great Buddha statue at Hōkōji, Kyoto (hinged open from the back), 1660s. Gilt wood. Height: 35.4 cm. Tokyo National Museum. Photograph: TNM Image Archives.

Although Tokugawa Ieyasu demolished this shrine shortly after taking power, he demonstrated his Buddhist-based compassion for the deceased Toyotomi family members to whom the Hōkōji was dedicated by sparing the temple. In similar spirit, Ieyasu also provided funds to establish the nunnery of Kōdaiji in Kyoto, where Hideyoshi's wife, Kita no Mandokoro (1548–1624), took up residence as a nun after her husband's death. By Ieyasu's order, the Toyotomi mortuary temple of Hōkōji came under the direct authority of the nearby Tendai temple of Myōhōin, a *monzeki* (type of temple whose abbot or prelate was a member of the imperial family; further discussed in chap. 2). Myōhōin had actually had some association with Hōkōji from its inception; at the time the first Great Buddha was erected, Hideyoshi had a Sutra Hall at Myōhōin built expressly for recitation of prayers to his deceased parents. The Tokugawa *bakufu* also provided funding for the Hōkōji Great Buddha reconstruction of 1664, but indirectly through Tōfukumon'in (1607–1678), a shogun's daughter who had married the emperor Gomizunoo (1596–1680; r. 1611–1629), whose imperial family oversaw Myōhōin. Ultimately, the motivation for this 1664 reconstruction is similar to that which drove the Tokugawa *bakufu* to sponsor other national temple rebuilding projects discussed below. It served as a dual symbol: supreme

Tokugawa hegemony — over Buddhist institutions, the imperial family, and the dispossessed Toyotomi — and concurrently as a public-relations effort demonstrating compassion towards conquered foes.

Tokugawa *Bakufu* Regulations for Buddhist Institutions

The different stimuli for establishing Buddhist institutions during the eighth and sixteenth centuries exemplify the profoundly dissimilar outlooks towards sovereignty by Japan's ancient imperial and early modern warrior rulers. Emerging from the same milieu as his immediate forerunners, Tokugawa Ieyasu shared Nobunaga and Hideyoshi's views of Buddhism. However, Ieyasu took further steps than his predecessors to harness the power of Buddhist institutions to help implement his political agenda. To accomplish this, he and his immediate successors brought Buddhist institutions under Tokugawa domination in a series of far-reaching judicial policies. His high regard for Buddhism is evident in his consideration of the advisers he chose to help him draft these laws: two trusted Buddhist monks, the Zen abbot Ishin Sūden (1569–1632) of Nanzenji and Nankōbō Tenkai (1536–1643), a Tendai priest from the Tendai sect's headquarters at Enryakuji at Mount Hiei (Hieizan).[3] Sūden advised the shogunate on religious, diplomatic, and political matters, earning a reputation as a ruthless authoritarian.

Tenkai first met Tokugawa Ieyasu in 1589, long before the latter became shogun. By 1613, Tenaki had become so important to Ieyasu that the shogun appointed him the head priest of Kitain, the Tendai sect's Tokugawa family mortuary temple in the castle town of Kawagoe near Edo, the Tokugawa seat of power. They initially intended this temple to rival and serve as eastern Japan's equivalent of the powerful Tendai sect headquarters at Mount Hiei, north of Kyoto. Later, the third shogun decided it was too far from Edo and erected another temple, Kan'eiji, instead (see below). Tenkai also became head abbot of the small Tendai temple of Rinnōji at Mount Nikkō, in the mountains northeast of Edo, where he presided over that temple's subsequent restoration and rise in prestige as part of a newly planned Buddhist-Shinto mausoleum complex dedicated at first to the deified spirit of Tokugawa Ieyasu (the Nikkō Tōshōgū) and, later, to other Tokugawa shoguns (discussed further below).

The edicts that the *bakufu* drafted with the aid of these influential advisers were first aimed at specific, troublesome temples and sects, then expanded to include temples of all denominations. Among the many regulations, some forbade the creation of new temples, controlled construction at existing institutions by regulating the physical appearance of temple structures, regulated the conduct of monks, and stipulated that all temples adhere to a strictly regulated, hierarchical temple organization scheme known as the "main temple-branch temple" system (*honzan matsuji*) (Lu 1974, 214–215; and Nosco 1996, 145). One of the

most far-reaching regulations required all citizens to register with a local temple as part of a household temple registration system (*terauke shūmon*). The *bakufu* abhorred the proselytizing efforts of Western Christian missionaries, whom they considered threats to their hegemony. Requiring citizens to belong to local Buddhist temples assured the government that the populace had not abandoned Buddhism in favor of Christianity. This edict also created a way of taking a national census and enforcing payment of taxes (Nosco 1996, 146). It also resulted in vast increases to the number of temples throughout Japan during the Edo period and the repair of structures at existing sites, many of which, at first, the *bakufu* oversaw directly and funded with its unprecedented wealth, much of it obtained from confiscated landholdings of the Toyotomi family.[4]

The *bakufu* also used these edicts to limit the power of the imperial family. Among laws that determined promotions within clerical rank, one curtailed imperial power over Buddhist institutions by restricting emperors from granting the "purple robe," or highest rank, to Buddhist clerics, a duty previously understood as belonging in the domain of the imperial court. This promulgation caused such wrath in Emperor Gomizunoo that he abdicated in protest.[5] Although the government had issued most of its laws governing temples during the seventeenth century, the *bakufu* continued to disseminate new ones throughout the Edo period. Among the last was a mid-nineteenth-century edict that confiscated temple landholdings, forbade Buddhist ceremonies at the imperial court, and curtailed the hereditary appointment of high priests' offices (McMullin 1984, 248, and 399, n. 55).

Tokugawa Family Support of Religious Establishments

While the Tokugawa shoguns did initiate large-scale temple projects during their tenure, they constructed none with the same altruistic intent as Emperor Shōmu. Most of their efforts, and all those discussed below, took place during the tenure of the first five shoguns (through 1709). Their most impressive religious edifices were personal in nature, majestic Shinto mausolea (*reibyō*) that were modeled after Hideyoshi's Hōkoku shrine and were closely affiliated with adjacent Tokugawa family Buddhist temples.

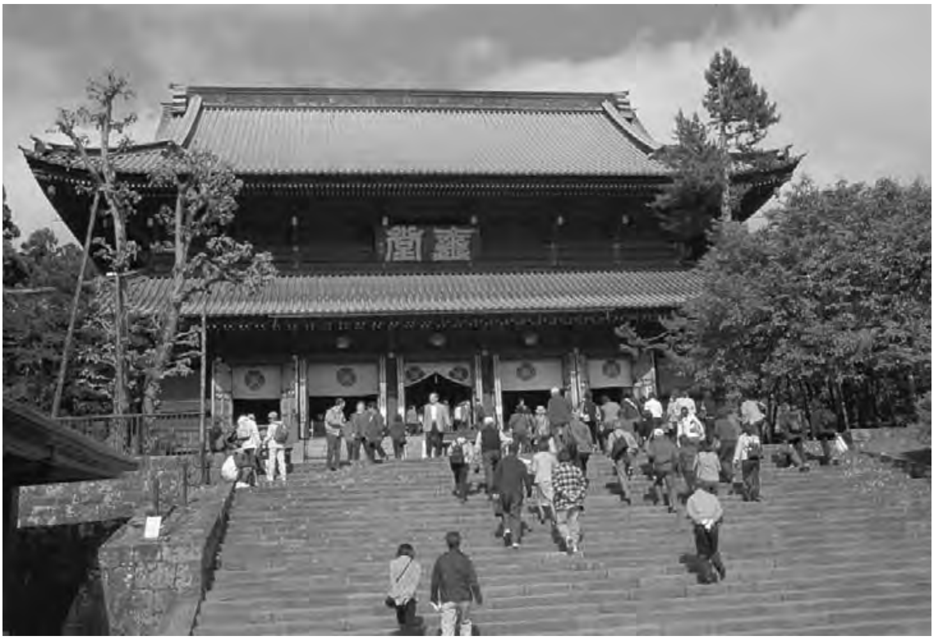
In premodern times, Buddhist temples and Shinto shrines were not the wholly separate religious institutions that most are today. They functioned as complementary components of a complex, hybrid Shinto-Buddhist belief system known as *honji suijaku* (origin and manifestation) that emerged in the Heian period. This ideology joined worship of Buddhist deities (the *honji,* or original gods) with that of Shinto *kami,* which were considered the manifestations (*suijaku*) of these Buddhist deities. This fusion of the two religions served the various spiri-

tual needs of worshipers and cleverly alleviated a sense of competition between them for followers, although it secured a higher status for Buddhism.

Tenkai has been credited as the person most responsible for helping to legitimize the Tokugawa hegemony by declaring Ieyasu a Shinto deity and conferring upon him the name Tōshō dainagon (Great Avatar Illuminating the East). In particular, he recognized this deified Ieyasu to be a reincarnation of the sun goddess Amaterasu, whom the imperial family claimed as its direct ancestor, and a manifestation of the buddha Yakushi (Skt. Bhaisajyaguru), the supreme Buddha of Healing.[6] Tenkai carefully plotted this shogunal veneration to emanate from Nikkō, approximately as far from Edo as the imperial Grand Shrine of Ise was from Kyoto, to legitimize the Tokugawas as national rulers, hoping the site would overshadow Ise in ritual importance (Ooms 1985, 183).

Although Ieyasu planned his apotheosis together with Tenkai just before he died and Tenkai ceremoniously interred him as a deity at Nikkō in 1617, it was not until the reign of the third shogun, Tokugawa Iemitsu (1603–1651; r. 1622–1651), between 1634 and 1636, that Tenkai was able to realize a most ambitious project — construction of a grand monument to Ieyasu at Nikkō, the Tōshōgū shrine. This shrine was located adjacent to the main buildings at Rinnōji, most of whose surviving buildings date to the 1640s and 1650s. These buildings include the 1647 Main Hall, also known as the Hall of the Three Buddhas (Sanbutsudō), for three massive statues that crowd the interior, only one of which is technically a buddha.[7] The monumental, dignified appearance of the building embodies the weight of authority the Tokugawa aimed to project to worshipers (fig. 1.3). The building's present location, however, dates to 1879.[8] The Nikkō Tōshōgū and Rinnōji construction projects and the Shinto mausoleum that Iemitsu also ordered constructed to deify his father, the second shogun Tokugawa Hidetada (1579–1632; r. 1605–1622), underscore the importance the Tokugawa placed on creating a religious basis for the legitimacy of their authority.[9] Beyond the grandeur of the monuments themselves, the Tokugawa used these places to hold religious rituals that reinforced their assertion of legitimacy. During Iemitsu's reign, these and other construction projects, the increased allocations for rituals, and unanticipated losses and expenses due to natural disasters accounted for his government's expenditures reaching an unprecedented peak and contributed to the bankrupting of the *bakufu* treasury several decades later.[10]

Rituals continued to play a central role in shogunal life and in fact increased during the reign of Iemitsu's son and successor, Tokugawa Ietsuna (1639–1680; r. 1651–1680), who became the fourth Tokugawa shogun at the tender age of ten. His advisers must have felt these ceremonies would assure the public that this youth possessed the mandate to rule. The grandest rituals, consequently, were those honoring Tokugawa ancestors at Nikkō. Their vast scope and astronomi-



1.3. Main Hall, Rinnōji, Nikkō, 1647. Photograph by author.

cal cost can be understood when considering that a short time later, between 1688 and 1696, a major part of the *bakufu*'s budget was expended on temple and shrine repair, with over 62 percent of that amount designated for Nikkō (Bodart-Bailey 2006, 186).

Among these expenses at Nikkō was upkeep for Iemitsu's mausoleum, the Taiyūin Reibyō on a site adjacent to the Nikkō Tōshōgū, which was completed in 1653, shortly after Ietsuna was appointed shogun. Representative of the grandeur of these rituals is one held at Taiyū'in on the important Buddhist memorial occasion of the twenty-first anniversary of Iemitsu's death in 1671. The centerpiece of this ceremony was a newly dedicated statue of the historical buddha Shaka (Skt. Śākyamuni) carved by Kōjō, the twenty-fifth-generation head of the Seventh Avenue Atelier of Kyoto.[11] Shaka presided because the *kami* that Iemitsu had become upon deification after death was deemed a manifestation of this Buddhist deity. A record of this event for posterity was created soon after in the form of a set of three large hanging scrolls (plate 1). The central scroll, illustrated in plate 1, shows the main ceremony with the statue of Shaka on an elaborate altar at the front of the ceremonial space in the main shrine at Taiyūin.[12] It gives some idea of the grandeur of this event, which lasted many days. In 1655, the *bakufu* had ordered Rinnōji to become a *monzeki.* Consequently, as a means of publicly demonstrating the legitimacy of Tokugawa rule, the prince who served as Rinnōji's ceremonial abbot was seated on a dais to the

right of the statue, while those from three important imperial Kyoto temples sat on the opposite side. They presided over an audience of monks, nobles, and high-ranking samurai. The lower half of the painting portrays ancient imperial court music (*gagaku*) and dance (*bugaku*), originally imported from China and Korea around the eighth century and an integral part of all state functions and religious ceremonies, both Buddhist and Shinto, ever since.

The fifth shogun, Tokugawa Tsunayoshi, under whose supervision the final phase of Tokugawa-supported temple building occurred, is a much derided figure, known by detractors as the "Dog Shogun" because one of his Laws of Compassion forbade the killing of wild dogs.[13] Unlike other shoguns-to-be, whose youthful education emphasized training in the martial arts under the tutelage of male mentors, he grew up immersed in books under the guidance of his mother, Keishōin (1627–1705), because, as the fourth son of Tokugawa Iemitsu, he was never expected to become a shogun. Born the daughter of a Kyoto greengrocer, Keishōin was adopted at a young age into the Honjō family of courtiers, where her mother was a servant. Keishōin profoundly influenced her son's attitudes towards his subjects after he assumed the title of shogun. She encouraged him to pursue Confucian studies, so he grew to prefer painting and calligraphy to martial arts (Bodart-Bailey 2006, 17, 215). She was also a fervent devotee of Shingon Buddhism and ingrained Buddhist values in her son as well. Because she was a commoner by birth Tsunayoshi felt sympathy for the plight of commoners, an attitude not shared by prior shoguns (Bodart-Bailey 2006, 17–36).

When Tsunayoshi became shogun, he methodically began to implement radical and often unpopular policies that reflected his religious and philosophical values and made his sovereignty a turning point in Edo-period history. His rule coincided with the era known as Genroku (1688–1704), still celebrated as the time when Japanese culture reached an apogee in the arts, intellectual scholarship, commerce, and material extravagance, especially among urban commoners. The government, though, was then entering into a prolonged period of financial hardship, which Tsunayoshi unsuccessfully sought to mitigate.

Under his directives, for the first time all citizens, including commoners, were encouraged to learn both Buddhism and Confucian values. Tsunayoshi promoted both ideologies because he believed "both were essential to his policy of producing a less violent and better-educated society" (Bodart-Bailey 2006, 215). He taught Confucian values to his warrior vassals to transform them into Confucian bureaucrats with loyalties to the state rather than to their own power bases and taught them Buddhism because it stressed compassion and nonviolence. Influenced by the teachings of Chinese Confucian scholars then living in self-imposed exile in Japan, Tsunayoshi came to believe that educating common people also bettered society, and he emphasized adherence to the Confucian tenet of filial piety, as well as Buddhism (Bodart-Bailey 2006, 215–224). Com-



1.4. Bronze lantern at Hōryūji, Nara, 1694. Photograph by author.

moner temples that elucidate the influence of his precepts will be discussed in chapter 3.

To help instill Buddhist values in the populace at large, Tsunayoshi authorized the construction and repair of buildings at many famous old temple compounds frequented by commoners.[14] To publicly proclaim his role as benefactor of the projects, he often placed dedicatory monuments prominently within these temples' grounds. One of these is a bronze lantern he had erected in 1694 in the main precincts of Hōryūji in Nara (fig. 1.4) to commemorate his role in the restoration of the temple's famed seventh-century pagoda and to acknowledge display of Hōryūji's treasures at a temple in the city of Edo at that time (Kasumi Kaikan 2000, 91).

That the temple held a public display of its treasures for viewers who actually had to pay to see them (this practice, known as *degaichō,* will be discussed further in chapter 3) is a significant point because it demonstrates one of Tsunayoshi's most important initiatives: getting sources other than the *bakufu* treasury to pay for major temple reconstruction at nationally important institutions. Knowing that the *bakufu* could not afford to fund this and other badly needed reconstruction projects, he began allowing temples to raise their own money. He also required daimyo to use their own increasingly scarce funds for his tem-

ple and shrine projects, especially those that protected the Tokugawa clan or served as symbols of Tokugawa authority in the spiritual realm (Bodart-Bailey 2006, 208–210). Hōryūji had been founded with imperial family patronage, so Tsunayoshi's placement of a bronze lantern in the center of its main compound visually connected the imperial family with that of the Tokugawa house. His lantern drew attention to this connection through an inscription identifying its donors and by incorporating easily recognizable symbols: crests of both the families of the shogun (trefoil leaf) and that of his mother's premarital adopted family of Kyoto, the courtier house of Honjō (three rows of interconnected diamonds), who were distant relatives of the imperial family.

The shogun's mother herself also sponsored many temple-rebuilding projects with money she obtained from her son. One of these is Yoshiminedera, in the western Arashiyama suburbs of Kyoto. This temple is a Shingon-sect affiliate and is temple number twenty on the Saikoku Junrei (west country's thirty-three-temple pilgrimage circuit). The circuit was in use by the tenth century by pilgrims seeking spiritual merit from veneration of one of Buddhism's most beloved deities, the bodhisattva Kannon. The number thirty-three corresponds with the number of Kannon's manifestations described in chapter twenty-five of the Lotus Sutra, which the Tendai sect revered most highly and which has been the text most commonly read in Japan since Buddhism's introduction there. In easy-to-understand language, the sutra espouses the ability of everyone to attain enlightenment instantaneously through pure belief.[15] Known as the compassionate bodhisattva, Kannon has always been the most widely worshiped deity not only in Japan, but also throughout East Asia, and is prominently featured in over eighty of Buddhism's sacred texts.

Yoshiminedera is one of the most beautiful temples on this pilgrimage route, which became popular among commoner laity in the seventeenth century (pilgrimage sites are discussed more fully in chapter 4). Its buildings sit nestled on a hillside in the mountains west of Kyoto, surrounded by flowering trees and bushes in spring and radiant foliage in autumn. Fires consumed the temple's buildings in the late medieval period, but during the seventeenth century the compound was restored. Its *tahōtō* pagoda, a distinctive circular tower with a square roof that symbolizes the "five elements" in the Japanese Buddhist universe (earth, water, fire, wind, and sky), was reconstructed first in 1621 (fig. 1.5). Adjacent to the pagoda stands the temple's most famous feature, a remarkable, ancient, dragon-shaped pine tree whose boughs stretch laterally 65 feet in two directions. This tree is said to have been planted by Keishōin herself. She had a special fondness for the temple from her youth, when she visited it often with her adopted parents. She donated funds for the tree, the temple's bronze bell, copies of Buddhist sutras, and various worship halls between about 1685 and 1705, as prayers to Kannon to protect her son during his reign as shogun. Virtually all of



1.5. View of the Dragon Pine Tree and Tahōtō Pagoda at Yoshiminedera, Kyoto. Pagoda dedicated in 1621. Photograph by author.

the major buildings at the temple today date to this era of reconstruction. Both Keishōin and Tsunayoshi also dedicated over twelve hundred personal objects to the temple during their lifetimes, and a mausoleum containing Keishōin's hair was constructed shortly after her death.

Donated objects include a simple devotional painting of the bodhisattva Kannon by Tsunayoshi himself, a charming, elegantly brushed scroll that testifies to his artistic talent (fig. 1.6). Standard painting dictionaries list his teacher as Kano Yasunobu (1613–1685), one of the highest-ranking professional painters of the Kano school, who were the official painters to the *bakufu* (A. Sawada 1987, 428). Yasunobu was the younger brother and painting pupil of Kano Tan'yū (1602–1674), the brilliant head of the main branch of this school. This hereditary lineage of artists had been founded in the Muromachi period and under Tan'yū's leadership in the seventeenth century grew so powerful with shogunal support that they established branch ateliers throughout the country to serve regional daimyo and teach aspiring local artists officially sanctioned styles.

Tsunayoshi's painting shows his mastery of this style, with its combination of fine wire-line brushwork, dark, angular outlines, and ink washes. These features reveal the Kano school indebtedness to ink-painting traditions of China, introduced to Japan in the Muromachi period, which the Kano masters adopted and perpetuated. Tsunayoshi's painting is unusual, however, because it appears to represent a nonstandard form of the bodhisattva Kannon. Normally,



1.6. The fifth shogun, Tokugawa Tsunayoshi (1646–1709). *Kannon Bodhisattva,* late sixteenth or early seventeenth century. Hanging scroll; ink and colors on paper, 215 × 60.5 cm. Yoshiminedera, Kyoto Prefecture.

artists strove to follow iconographic models because correct representation of the deities assured the efficacy of the replica. In addition to the thirty-three standard forms of Kannon mentioned in the Lotus Sutra, the Shingon sect revered seven other Tantric forms, distinguished by their multiple limbs or heads. Tsunayoshi's figure has four arms, identifying it as an esoteric form, which is logical since the temple for which he painted it is Shingon. But which particular manifestation of Kannon he represented is less clear. He probably was depicting Juntei (Skt. Cundī) Kannon, an incarnation with many arms, usually eighteen, though occasionally fewer (see plate 26 for a more standard representation), because this form of the bodhisattva represents her as a mother goddess, a fitting manifestation of the deity to donate to a temple so closely associated with his own mother.



1.7. Main Hall at Kiyomizudera, Kyoto, 1633. Photograph by author.

In addition to erecting temples that had personal associations with their family, beginning with the second shogun and peaking during the rule of the third, the *bakufu* had allocated huge sums to over one hundred temple and shrine reconstruction projects in Kyoto and elsewhere, especially for religious institutions that had served as sect headquarters or as important pilgrimage sites, including many associated with the deposed Toyotomi family. From the time of Ieyasu, such projects constituted an important component of broad-ranging *bakufu* policies for simultaneously controlling Buddhism and creating splendid monuments as symbols of Tokugawa authority.[16] This massive effort to refurbish the nation's religious monuments actually continued through the rule of the fifth shogun, after which time the *bakufu* coffers had run dry. While it lasted, these efforts resulted in the construction of many majestic buildings at Japan's most famous temples, many of which still stand today and greatly color our perception of the material culture of premodern Japanese Buddhist institutions. Among these is the dramatic, elevated Main Hall of Kiyomizudera in Kyoto (fig. 1.7), a temple affiliated with the Hossō (Ch. Faxiang) or "Consciousness Only" (Yushiki shū) sect. This sect, one of the two oldest and the most influential of the six old Nara-based Japanese Buddhist sects, emphasizes intense studies of particular texts to discover the true nature of reality, as distinguished from the outward appearance of worldly things. Reconstructed in 1633, Kiyomizudera remains one of the city's great scenic attractions as well as a popular pilgrimage site.[17]

Shogunate-Sponsored Temples in Seventeenth-Century Edo

Concurrent with their reconstruction of temples elsewhere in the country, the early Tokugawa shoguns also erected temples in and around their home base in the Kanto District of eastern Japan, centered in present-day Tokyo. The Tokugawa clan acquired this land in 1590 when Toyotomi Hideyoshi ordered his general, Tokugawa Ieyasu, to administer the region, far from his ancestral power base, in an unsuccessful effort to prevent a threat to his power. At the time Ieyasu took charge, the area held only scattered settlements and marshland, though it had been a bustling castle town during the fifteenth century. Ieyasu quickly began restoring and expanding Edo, building canals and reclaiming land, especially after assuming national leadership in 1603, the year he made Edo the administrative capital of the country. Ieyasu and his advisers planned the city with an imposing castle at the center of a vast spiral, surrounded by distinct sectors for commerce, religious institutions, entertainment, and separate residential neighborhoods for the various social classes of its citizenry.

They designed the city to best serve the needs of its most important residents: the shogun and thousands of his personal vassals and *bakufu* administrators; Tokugawa family members; daimyo from throughout the realm, who numbered around 240 and who, from the reign of the third shogun, the *bakufu* required to reside within the city for part of each year; and numerous daimyo retainers and family members (families were required to live in Edo continuously, as hostages, to guarantee daimyo allegiance to Tokugawa rule). To provide services for these samurai, numerous commoners of the artisan and merchant classes (*chōnin,* or urban commoners), their families, and other service personnel such as entertainers and geisha were encouraged to make the city their home.

Edo grew rapidly, covering about 63 square kilometers by 1670 and nearly 80 square kilometers by the mid-nineteenth century, with a population estimated at between 800,000 and 1.3 million people by the early eighteenth century.[18] Because of their high status, the districts designated for the samurai covered much larger land areas of the city than those for the commoners, whose residences and shops occupied much more densely packed, less desirable terrain. Unfortunately, not much of the old city survives, having been wiped out by repeated fires, earthquakes, typhoons, and bombings during World War II. Still, enough structures, Edo-period paintings and prints, and written records survive to suggest its premodern appearance.

Influenced by advice from his spiritual mentor, Tenkai, Ieyasu embraced Buddhism's promise of offering protective powers to political rulers and their capital cities. So in addition to designing the city for practicality and convenience, from the beginning he included Buddhist institutions. In 1598, Ieyasu relocated a small, preexisting Jōdo-sect temple, Zōjōji, to its present site, then the south-

west sector of the city near the gateway to the Tōkaidō, the main highway that connected the imperial capital of Kyoto to Edo. He elevated the temple's status by designating it his family's *bodaiji* (mortuary temple), a place for honoring the souls of deceased ancestors, although he stipulated that his own remains be interred at Nikkō, as already mentioned.

Around the same time, the monks of another ancient local temple, Sensōji, popularly known as the Asakusa Kannon temple, after the name of the district in which it was situated, suggested that their temple's location in the northeast quadrant and the power of its central icon could also offer protection to the regime (Hur 2000, 1–3). Ieyasu agreed and allotted it a stipend to conduct prayer rituals for protection of his family and their success as rulers. Sensōji, a Tendai-sect affiliate, is the oldest temple of the region, said to have been founded by two brothers in 628 who discovered a small golden statue of the bodhisattva Kannon while fishing and erected a temple at that spot. Over the centuries, many legends told of the miraculous powers of this icon, so Ieyasu's selection of this temple to protect his family must have emerged from his belief in its efficacy.

Both Zōjōji and Sensōji also helped ensure the city's prosperity by containing any bad karma that might emanate from the defilement of neighborhoods in their vicinity: red-light entertainment zones, the residential district for outcasts, and the shogun's execution ground (Hur 2000, 103). From the viewpoint of Western religious practices, which require allegiance to a single faith, this custom of invoking the pious assistance of temples associated with two different Buddhist sects may seem strange. Yet from the Japanese Buddhist perspective, it simply increased the chances for spiritual benefits by allowing for divine aid from diverse sources.

Ieyasu and his Buddhist advisers carefully considered the placement of these temples in relation to the city as a whole because of the common belief in the protective powers of religious institutions to ward off the potential bad effects emanating from unlucky directions. This practice, though ostensibly Buddhist, stems from earlier influences on Buddhism of Chinese Daoism (Taoism), a set of beliefs and practices that emerged around the same time in China as Confucianism.[19] The Daoist worldview (based on the concept of the Dao, or "the Way") envisions the universe as an infinite void from which all matter appeared, variously possessed of complementary yin (female) and yang (male) forces of energy (Ch. *qi;* Jp. *chi*), which governed the five elements (wood, metal, fire, water, and earth). It evolved into a complex, formal, ritual-oriented religion with many sectarian divisions featuring supernatural deities and spirit mediums who serve as mediators between humans and the unseen divine powers of the Daoist universe. Daoism engendered the creation of practices to assure personal protection and benefits, including health, longevity, and even immortality. Sometimes Daoist practitioners utilized geomancy (Ch. *fengshui*) to protect places

endangered by their proximity to evil forces.[20] Daoists created hagiographies for historical figures, deities, and immortals who gained supernatural powers and immortality by engaging in Daoist ritual procedures. Daoism entered Japan as early as the seventh century through multifarious routes, and its emphasis on ritual recitation, divination, and ritual use of talismans became incorporated into Shinto, Buddhism, and imperial court rites.[21]

Following Daoist guidelines, for example, planners for Kyoto back in the late eighth century carefully sited the few temples allowed to be built in the vicinity of the new capital city at its four corners, so as to surround it with a protective barrier. The northeast was guarded by the Tendai headquarters of Enryakuji atop Mount Hiei (the most unlucky direction). The temple protecting the northwest was Kuramadera, and Tōji (eastern temple), the Shingon headquarters, and Saiji (western temple) protected the southeast and southwest directions, respectively. Ieyasu envisioned his city as Japan's eastern capital in an effort to equate his new city with the old imperial capital of Kyoto, known then simply as Miyako (The Capital). Thus he intentionally located temples in spiritually strategic locations to mirror the placement of temples in Kyoto. Zōjōji retained its affiliation with the shogunal family throughout the Edo period, but in 1625, Sensōji's status was usurped by *bakufu* construction of Kan'eiji, a new, grander Tendai temple complex. After that time (as discussed in chapter 3), Sensōji prospered as a type of new urban temple intimately tied to the life of Edo's townspeople. These two *bakufu* temples, Zōjōji and Kan'eiji, continued to function as both personal and national symbols of Tokugawa hegemony for the remainder of the Edo period, and both became repositories for the gravesites of most of the Tokugawa shoguns.

When Ieyasu designated Zōjōji as the official mortuary temple for his clan, he also made it the main temple of the Jōdo sect in the whole of eastern Japan, naming it the sect's Great Headquarters (Dai Honzan). With this moniker, he challenged the supremacy of the much older Jōdo-sect head temple of Chion'in in Kyoto, which was thereafter renamed the sect's General Headquarters (Sō Honzan) (Kojiro 1986, 43). The *bakufu* also created Edo-based administrative head temples for other sects as well as regional liaison headquarter temples, creating an administrative pyramid structure from which they could better oversee and control all Buddhist institutions (Williams 2000, 49–60).

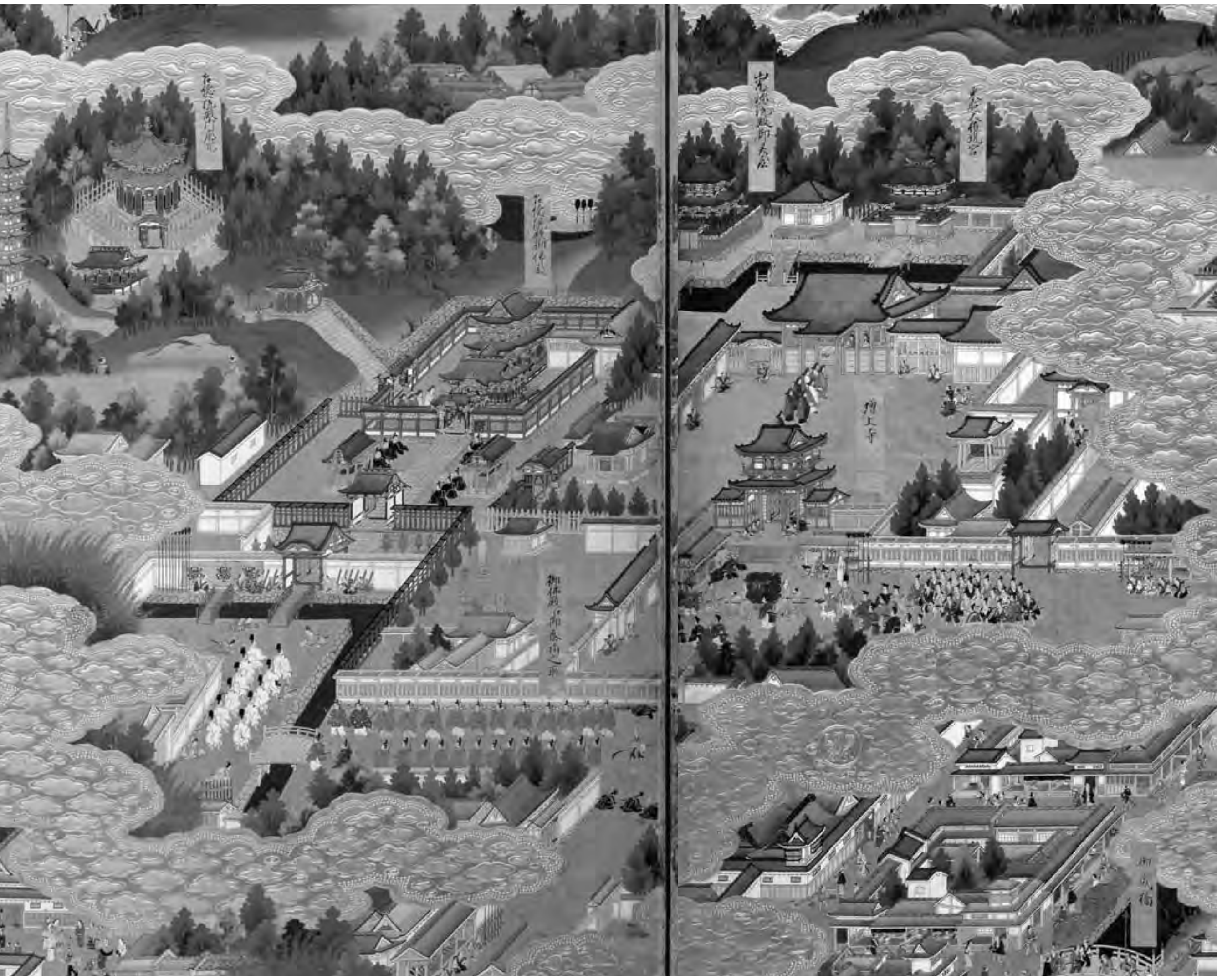
In its heyday, Zōjōji covered 85,000 square meters (21 acres) and included forty-eight different structures. As a head temple, it served as a training monastery for priests. It also became known as one of the great sites of the capital city, a popular stop for visitors and pilgrims due to its proximity to the main highway into the city. Most of the temple's buildings were completed during the reign of the third shogun, Iemitsu, one of his many large construction projects that helped bankrupt the shogunal treasury. The only original structure remaining

today at the compound is the temple's ornate, two-story, Chinese-style main Salvation Gate (Sangedatsu mon) dedicated in 1621, the first year of Iemitsu's rule (H. Watanabe 2001, 28). All other buildings were lost to air raids in 1945. The appearance of these lost buildings is preserved in a set of folding screens commissioned in the mid-seventeenth century by supporters of Iemitsu.[22] In the detail from the screens seen in figure 1.8, the shogun is depicted, albeit hidden within a palanquin in front of Zōjōji's main gate, accompanied by a long official retinue en route to pay respects at the elaborate Taitokuin Reibyō mausoleum complex dedicated to Iemitsu's father, Hidetada, located to the left of Zōjōji.

Iemitsu was also responsible for replacing Sensōji as a Tokugawa family temple with Kan'eiji, founded in 1625, whose grand appearance competed with that of Zōjōji.[23] Iemitsu planned Kan'eiji in consultation with the distinguished Buddhist teacher Tenkai, who left his post at Rinnōji at Nikkō for this purpose. Its name was derived from the Kan'ei era (1624–1644), the imperial reign era (*nengō*) in which it was constructed. The shogun erected Kan'eiji to create a new power center for Tendai Buddhism in eastern Japan that would rival the Tendai complex at Mount Hiei, northeast of Kyoto — something the small, popular, older Sensōji could not do. Like Zōjōji, Kan'eiji included an associated Shinto shrine complex, the Ueno Tōshōgū Reibyō, a mortuary shrine to Iemitsu's grandfather, Ieyasu. Also, to make Kan'eiji equal in status to Zōjōj, the *bakufu* demoted their somewhat remote family temple of Kitain in nearby Kawagoe and designated this new institution, in the heart of Edo, as the head temple for the Tendai sect in eastern Japan. To show support for Iemitsu, numerous daimyo were required to donate funds for construction of many of its buildings, with most completed by 1639, although the temple's main hall was finished decades later, in 1697 (H. Watanabe 2001, 30).

Kan'eiji sits northeast of the castle on the hilly grounds of what is today Ueno Park, a site chosen using the same principles of Chinese geomancy that had led the shogunate to accept Sensōji's location as protection for Edo Castle from this unlucky direction, but Tenkai and Iemitsu had a grander scheme in mind. Because Kan'eiji lay in the same directional proximity to the castle, as did Enryakuji on Mount Hiei to Kyoto's imperial palace, they adapted the name of that famous religious center for the new temple's site, calling it Tōeizan (Mount Hiei of the East) in an attempt to equate the city of Edo with that of Kyoto and the power of the Tokugawa shoguns with that of the emperors. Tenkai reinforced this comparison and the implied appropriation of Tokugawa authority over Buddhism by naming some of the individual buildings at Kan'eiji after famous religious sites in and around the imperial capital (Smith and Poster 1986, pl. 11 commentary).

Additionally, the Tokugawa sought to demonstrate their authority over not only the religious and imperial domains, but also the Toyotomi military rulers



1.8. Anonymous painter of the Kano school. *Zōjōji,* from *Views of Edo* (*Edo zu byōbu*), mid-seventeenth century. Detail of the left screen in a pair of six-panel screens; ink, colors, and gold on paper. National Museum of Japanese History, Sakura, Chiba.

they had displaced. Thus one of the buildings at Kan'eiji was a replica of Chikubushima, a site closely identified with Toyotomi patronage, an island sanctuary dedicated to the Buddhist deity Benzaiten (Skt. Sarasvatī) in Lake Biwa. They recreated this potent symbol of political power adjacent to Kan'eiji on an artificial island in Shinobazu Pond (Watsky 2004, 269–272).

Few of Kan'eiji's early buildings survive. One that does is the single-story, red-lacquered Kiyomizu Hall, founded in 1631 and moved to its present site in 1694. The building is named after its more famous namesake of Kyoto, Kiyomizudera (see fig. 1.7 above), whose restoration Iemitsu also had ordered. Tenkai

had enshrined within the hall a statue of the bodhisattva Kannon, obtained from Kyoto's Kiyomizudera. The temple remains popular to this day, especially among women praying for success in child rearing.

Kan'eiji's five-story pagoda, dedicated in 1631, also survives, although the present structure is a slightly later replacement because the original burned down shortly after completion. Funds for the original construction came from an important daimyo and shogunal adviser, Doi Toshikatsu (1573–1644), who also funded the existing replacement, consecrated in 1639. Originally, the pagoda belonged to the Tōshōgū Shrine part of the complex, but in the Meiji period, when the new imperial government ordered Shinto shrines and Buddhist temples to become completely separate religious institutions, it came under the jurisdiction of Kan'eiji. The interior originally contained statues created by Kōyū, the twenty-second master carver of Kyoto's Seventh Avenue Atelier, who was the son of Kōshō, who sculpted Hideyoshi's original Great Buddha (Sakai-shi Hakubutsukan 1997, 97). Scholars believe the existing statues of the interior date from this 1639 reconstruction and attribute them to Kōon (d. 1682), the twenty-third master sculptor of Kyoto's Seventh Avenue Atelier, who succeeded to this title in 1631 (Sakai-shi Hakubutsukan 1997, 13–14, 97). One of these statues is illustrated here (fig. 1.9). There are four statues in all, each corresponding to a cardinal direction. Not always the same, in this case these directional buddhas are: Shaka (north), Yakushi (east), the future buddha Miroku (Skt. Maitreya; south), and Amida (west). These small, elegant, gilt-wood statues are considered today among the very best surviving examples of Edo-period Buddhist sculptures. Their graceful proportions and delicate modeling closely resemble fine Buddhist imagery of the Kamakura period, which enjoyed a resurgence in popularity during the seventeenth century, no doubt because sculptors of the time had a chance to study the older pieces during the many temple restoration projects then underway. In 1998, the Tokyo National Museum completed extensive repairs to these images, restoring the original brilliance of their gold leaf and painted surfaces. They are now on long-term loan to that museum.

In addition to temples built for the personal benefit of the Tokugawa clan, the shoguns donated land and offered funds for construction or restoration of many other Edo-area temples of various sectarian denominations so that the commoner population of the city could have places to worship. By the mid-seventeenth century, hundreds of these religious establishments could be found in Edo. But in 1657, the last year of the Meireki era (1655–1657), a terrible fire obliterated around 60 percent of the city, including most of Edo Castle, and killed around 100,000 people. Some 350 temples and shrines were destroyed in the blaze (H. Watanabe 2001, 25). This event precipitated much reorganization of the urban area to reduce building and population density, reducing the likelihood of future horrific calamities. Many residential quarters for daimyo and



1.9. Attributed to Kōon (d. 1682). *Amida Buddha;* one of the four buddhas from the pagoda at Kan'eiji, Tokyo, ca. 1639. Wood with lacquer, gold foil, and crystal eyes. Height: 38.3 cm. Now owned by the Tokyo Metropolitan Construction Bureau (Tōkyō-tō Kensetsu Kyoku). Photograph courtesy of the Sakai City Museum.

townspeople, the large Yoshiwara red-light district, and religious institutions were relocated to new neighborhoods at the city's periphery.

Among the temples founded soon after the fire in the city's far western outskirts (now Setagaya Ward) was a Jōdo-sect temple, Jōshinji (formal name Kuhonzan Yuizainenbutsu'in Jōshinji). The fourth shogun, Tokugawa Ietsuna, donated land for this temple in 1678 at the behest of the founding priest, Kaseki Shōnin (1617–1694), on the site of the ruins of Okuzawa Castle, one of the strongholds of the Hōjō clan, the vanquished warriors whose domain Hideyoshi had reassigned to Tokugawa Ieyasu.[24] From its inception, the temple served as an important regional training monastery for Jōdo-sect monks under the jurisdiction of Zōjōji.

A story passed down by the temple indicates that Kaseki, as a young man of eighteen, made a vow to carve on his own nine statues representing nine manifestations of the buddha Amida (Kuhon Butsu). After these statues, the temple has come to be popularly known simply as "Kuhon Butsu." These buddhas preside over nine levels of the Pure Land Paradise, where the souls of believers are reborn according to their state of purity at the time of death and their level of



1.10. Kaseki Shōnin (1617–1694). Three of the nine Amida Buddhas at Kuhon Butsu Jōshinji, Tokyo, 1667. Wood with gilt and polychrome. Height: approx. 276 cm. Photograph by author.

understanding of the Buddha's teachings. Traditional accounts state that Kaseki completed them all by age fifty-one (1667) (fig. 1.10). The temple also credits him with carving the central statue (Shaka) enshrined in its main hall of worship (completed in 1698, four years after his death).

No records survive to indicate how or under whose tutelage Kaseki studied Buddhist statue making, and only scant, anecdotal information exists about his life. He apparently grew up in Musashi (the old name for the Kantō District), where he was first initiated into the priesthood at the Jōdo temple of Shimousa Daiganji. While there, a passage he read in the Net of Brahma Sutra (Bonmōkyō) describing nine statues of the buddha Amida inspired him to create his set. Later, he moved to Edo, where he resided at the Jōdo temple of Reiganji in Fukagawa, one of the newly designated temple districts in the eastern part of the city. At that time, he began saving three coins (sen) every day until 1664, when he finally accumulated enough money to pay for materials to make the first statue. By 1667, with the help of his disciple, Kaoku Shōnin, he finally achieved his wish of completing the nine statues, each approximately three meters in height — a standard size, known in Japanese as *jōroku,* for monumental-sized Buddhist images. The multiple woodblock construction Kaseki used to fashion his statues betrays the training of a professional Buddhist image carver, but since many priests of that time studied painting and sculpture as part of their monastic training, the anecdote has merit.[25]



1.11. Halls of the Three Buddhas (San Butsudō), Kuhon Butsu Jōshinji, Tokyo, 1698. Photograph by author.

Kaseki died before buildings to house the statues could be completed. His disciple Kaoku, who became the temple's second abbot, enshrined them in three buildings known as the Halls of the Three Buddhas (Sanbutsudō), dedicated in 1698 (fig. 1.11). These halls present unique visualizations of Amida's paradises. Each contains three massive Amida Buddha statues, each depicted with a different *mudra* (prescribed hand gestures) that identifies over which of the nine levels of the Pure Land Paradise they preside. Major restoration of these buildings took place in 1983, at which time the roofs were changed to copper. Regardless of the identity of the maker, these majestic statues and their remarkable buildings confirm the enduring popularity of belief in the Pure Land that began during the Heian period, when many such sets were apparently commissioned. Only one other set survives today, from the late eleventh or early twelfth century, enshrined in a single long hall at the temple of Jōrūriji in the outskirts of Nara.[26]

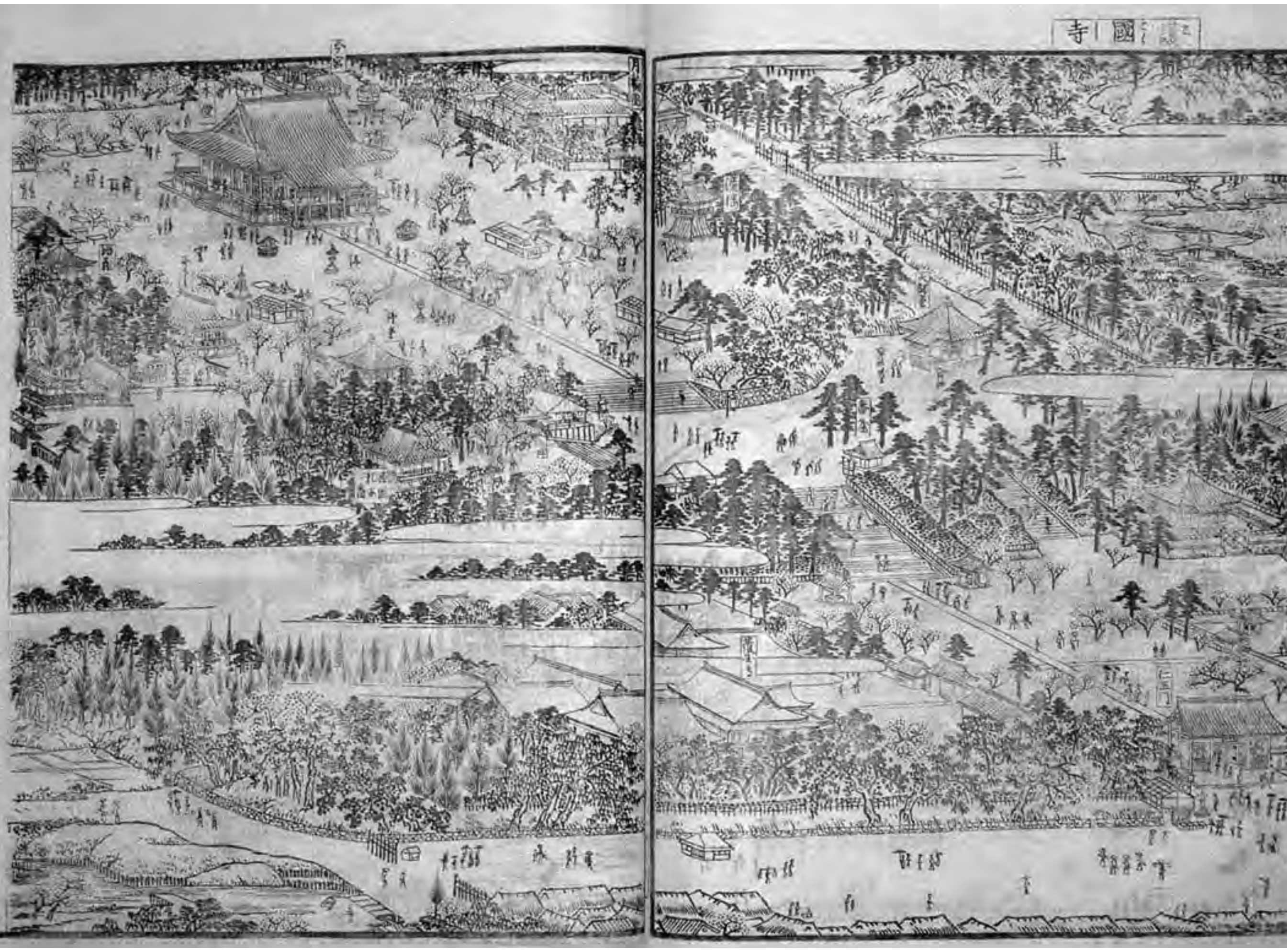
Throughout the Edo period, Jōshinji added new buildings to its grounds, and, like many other religious institutions in need of funds for these endeavors and for the upkeep of the temple in general, it sought distinctive means to garner popular support. One way it did this was to host a colorful pageant celebrating the welcome to the Pure Land (*omen kaburi*) once every three years, on August 16. One source credits Kaoku, the second abbot, with its initiation (Tamamuro 1992, 376). This festival, designated an intangible cultural property by the city of Tokyo, reenacts the dying moments of Pure Land devotees, who chant the

name of the Buddha (*nenbutsu*) as they enter the Pure Land Paradise. During the festival, participants cross a bridge from the main, west-facing, hall, which symbolizes the material world, to the Halls of the Three Buddhas, representing Amida's Pure Land Paradise.[27]

The last decade of the seventeenth century, when Jōshinji's Halls of the Three Buddhas and its Main Mall were constructed, coincided with the reign of the fifth shogun, Tokugawa Tsunayoshi, who contributed to a building boom in Edo by using increasingly scarce *bakufu* funds on temple construction in the city as a way of promoting Buddhism among the populace there. Temples sponsored by him include the Shingon temple of Chisokuin, where his mother's favorite monk, Ryōken (1611–1687), resided and which was located conveniently close to the castle. Although Tsunayoshi sponsored a grand rebuilding of this temple in 1695 (renaming it Gojiin), it was not rebuilt after a devastating fire in 1717 (Shivley 1970, 105).

A more important temple whose construction Tsunayoshi authorized and that has survived to this day is the Shingon temple Gokokuji. Tsunayoshi founded it on behalf of his mother in 1681, designating it the headquarters for the Buzan school of the Shingon sect in eastern Japan. Ryōken became its first abbot. The hipped and gabled Main Hall, dedicated to Nyōirin Kannon (Skt. Cintāmani cakra Avalokiteśvara), one popular incarnation of the bodhisattva Kannon, enshrines Keishōin's favorite statue of the deity. The building survives from the time of its original completion in 1697. Despite the temple's grand scale, because Tsunayoshi gave the project high priority, construction of the entire complex took a mere six months.

The original temple compound is included in the most famous of many illustrated woodblock printed gazetteers published in the Edo period, the *Illustrated Guide to Famous Places of Edo* (*Edo meisho zue*), published between 1834 and 1836 by a ward representative of the city, Saitō Gesshin (1804–1878) (fig. 1.12). He benefited from extensive research undertaken by his father and grandfather. Hasegawa Settan (1778–1843), an artist who specialized in this genre, designed the book's illustrations.[28] Even after Tsunayoshi's death, this temple retained its importance and was accorded special privileges. However, like other temples, its survival became dependent upon new funding sources as *bakufu* support dwindled in the eighteenth century. In 1730, it became the first temple in Edo to receive permission from the shogunate to hold public lotteries in order to raise money for its upkeep. Like other temples of Edo that sought to attract numerous visitors, it too eventually succumbed to the need to erect religious-themed amusement areas within its precincts and constructed a mini-pilgrimage route replicating the thirty-three temples on the Saikoku Kannon circuit and a spacious garden featuring a miniature replica of a holy destination — Mount Fuji (Fujisan).[29] But since the early Meiji period, the temple has thrived with elite



1.12. Hasegawa Settan (1778–1843). Overview of Gokokuji from the *Illustrated Guide to Famous Places of Edo* (*Edo meisho zue*), 1834–1836. Woodblock-printed book in ink on paper, each sheet 28.9 × 21.2 cm. Collection of the International Research Center for Japanese Studies (Nichibunken), Kyoto. Photograph by author.

support. From 1873, it has served as the mortuary temple for the Japanese imperial family.

By the end of Tsunayoshi's reign, the government's financial trouble had worsened considerably, exacerbated by a series of calamitous natural disasters. First, a terrible earthquake, the strongest ever recorded, devastated Edo in 1703. That was followed by a tsunami several days later. As a result of the quake and subsequent fires, Edo Castle, the Tokugawa shogun's strategic headquarters, was heavily damaged and around three hundred thousand people died. Then, in 1707, Mount Fuji erupted (Bodart-Bailey 2006, 255–266). These disasters precipitated an already dire financial plight, so temples were more or less left to

their own devices from this time on, hence the appearance of Kuhon Butsu's festival and Gokokuji's simulation of pilgrimage sites. Other temples devised equally creative means to raise money for their upkeep and restoration, as will be discussed in the following chapters.

THE BUDDHIST TEMPLES and related icons introduced in this chapter highlight the grave importance these early modern political leaders placed on the patronage of such structures. Their motivations stemmed mainly from dual impulses: the temples served as potent public, spiritual symbols that proclaimed the warriors' authority over the nation's religious sphere, and, simultaneously, they functioned as institutions designed for assuring the success and prosperity of the Tokugawa family in their role as rulers of Japan into the future. Yet the zealous establishment of temples of diverse sects by these rulers, especially the fifth shogun, also reveals a genuine concern for promoting Buddhism to encourage peaceful coexistence among all Japanese citizens. Concurrent with these efforts, other elite members of Japanese society — the imperial family and the daimyo — were also supporting temple-building projects, in the case of the latter sometimes by order of the shogun, but often due to sincerity of their faith. Chapter 2 addresses their considerable efforts.

Chapter Two

Buddhist Temples for the Elites

THE MANY TEMPLES introduced in this chapter dispute the widespread assertion that elite supporters of Buddhism in the Edo period contributed little to the propagation of the faith. Instead, they reveal the stalwart devotion to Buddhism by the elites — aristocrats and high-ranking samurai — whose status and financial resources enabled them to create significant Buddhist architectural monuments throughout the country. The temples surveyed reveal various motivations for temple founding, including political expediency, personal religious devotion, honoring of deceased family members, and the persuasive powers of illustrious priests.

Temples for the Nobility

As well as directly sponsoring the construction of temples throughout the seventeenth century, the *bakufu* took on responsibility for sustaining the numerous temples associated with the imperial family and the nobility. Ever since the first Minamoto shogun had usurped power from the emperor in the thirteenth century, aristocratic standards of living had become dependent upon both the goodwill and the affluence of the successive generations of shoguns and their advisers. Yet even during periods of deprivation and well into the Edo period, their patronage of Buddhist institutions persevered. Funding for temples of the nobility reached a high point during the middle and late seventeenth century as a result of the generosity and affluence of the shoguns. The shoguns did this to demonstrate to the Japanese public that they respected the undeniable prestige of court but also that it was only because of their beneficence that the

court could survive. Nevertheless, the Tokugawa reinforced their legitimacy by intermarrying with the imperial family, arranging a marriage between Emperor Gomizunoo and Tōfukumon'in, daughter of the second shogun, Hidetada.

Because of Tōfukumon'in's connections, her husband Gomizunoo was more successful than previous emperors in obtaining funding for their varied and erudite cultural pursuits, which included the patronage of temples of several different sects (Lillehoj 1996a, 1996b). Gomizunoo's sponsorship of temples stemmed from two different impulses. He devoutly believed in the faith, and his studies encompassed the teachings of diverse sects including Shingon, Tendai, Rinzai Zen, and Jōdo. He even sought religious instruction from newly arrived emigrant Chinese Chan monks who founded the Ōbaku Zen sect in Japan (discussed later in this chapter). He also desired a sustained livelihood for his siblings and thirty-three children. Thus he encouraged or required them to enter imperially founded temples as abbots, abbesses, or prelates, following a tradition that dates back to the Heian period and that had become commonplace since the nobles became greatly impoverished in the late Muromachi era (Butler 2002, 36). These *monzeki* (temples where male clerics of imperial family descent resided) and *ama monzeki* (imperial nunneries or convents) proliferated during the early Edo period, although their numbers then remain unclear, because many vanished or endured relocation in later centuries.[1] The devotional art these imperial clerics created will be discussed in chapter 6.

While most of Gomizunoo's relatives who entered the priesthood resided in temples in or near Kyoto, in 1655 the *bakufu* appointed Prince Shuchō Hōshin'nō, Gomizunoo's third son, to reside in Edo at Kan'eiji and serve jointly as *monzeki* abbot for the two highest-ranking official *bakufu* Tendai temples in eastern Japan — Kan'eiji in Edo and Rinnōji in Nikkō. Like other symbolic acts intended to highlight their legitimacy and status, the Tokugawa required this residency as a way of projecting the image of imperial endorsement for the deification of the shogunate founders and also to have an imperial prince readily available to replace an uncooperative emperor (Shivley 1970, 104). Unlike other *monzeki* temples of Kyoto and Nara, where imperial family members even now serve as head priests, the *monzeki* system at these temples ended with the defeat of the Tokugawa in 1868.[2]

Significant building projects accomplished under the auspices of Gomizunoo and Tōfukumon'in included the restoration of the main buildings at two Shingon imperial temples, the *monzeki* of Ninnaji and the mortuary temple (*bodaiji*) of Sennyūji in Kyoto, both of which had been heavily damaged by civil wars and fires in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The restoration of Ninnaji was largely Tōfukumon'in's personal project. She ordered construction of a new five-story pagoda, completed in 1644, and the relocation and adaptation of the Hall for State Ceremonies (Shishinden), originally erected in 1613



2.1. Main Hall, Ninnaji, Kyoto. Erected as the Hall for State Ceremonies (Shishinden) at the Imperial Palace in 1613; modified for use as temple Main Hall in 1637. Photograph by author.

at the imperial palace, for use as the temple's Main Hall in 1637 (fig. 2.1). The lattice-wood, horizontally hinged shutters, a typical feature of ancient aristocratic architecture, betrays the original secular use of this graceful and stately building.

Sennyūji had been the mortuary temple for many emperors since the thirteenth century and was used by the imperial family for religious retreats and funerary and memorial services. Its resurgence came to fruition not only because of its importance as a resting ground for the souls of past imperial family members, but also because Gomizunoo and his immediate family admired its learned seventeenth-century abbot, Joshū Chōrō (1594–1647) (Lillehoj 1996a, 61). The temple's new Relic Hall (Shariden; completed 1642) was another adaptive reuse of a building from the imperial palace. The Main Hall was the last building in this restoration project to be completed, in 1669.

The following year, the fourth shogun, Ietsuna, commissioned the head of the Kyoto Kano painting school, Kano Einō (1631–1697), to produce a pictorial record of the newly rebuilt compound, which Einō completed in 1671.[3] This painting is unusual within the artist's repertoire because Einō simply created a record of the appearance of a contemporary temple compound, rather than depicting buildings within a scroll that tells the story of the founding or history of an ancient temple or shrine or uses the buildings as a backdrop for a festival at such a place, which was his more usual practice (fig. 2.2).[4] Einō portrayed



2.2. Painting by Kano Einō (1631–1697); title inscribed by Kōsen Shōton (1633–1695). *Pictorial Record of the Eastern Mountains* (*Higashiyama ki*). Painting: 1671; inscription: 1670. Handscroll; ink and light colors on paper, total length: 35.1 cm. Sennyūji, Kyoto.

the buildings in the conventionalized manner he used for his narrative paintings, looking down on the scene from a bird's-eye view and showing the temple entrance to the right, at the beginning of the scroll. This perspective is different from the way temple and shrine buildings are depicted in popular maplike pictures of sacred precincts (fig. 2.3) and related drawings that are meant to be hung on a wall and viewed all at once. Such pictures depict the arrangement of the buildings with the gate to the complex at the bottom of the picture and the buildings lined up in a row above that.[5] From right to left Einō has painted the temple gate, followed by the large Main Hall, the Relic Hall, and, within a walled compound to the left, the palatial, interconnected buildings that constituted the abbot's quarters and official chambers for visiting imperial dignitaries.

Kōsen Shōton (Ch. Kao Chuan Xing Tong; 1633–1695), an eminent emigrant Chinese Zen monk of the Ōbaku Zen sect (he arrived in Japan in 1661 and became the fifth abbot of the sect in 1692) wrote a memoir he titled *Record of the Eastern Mountains* (*Higashiyama ki*) on the first day of the eleventh month of the year Kanbun 10 (1670) describing a trip he made to the temple that was later attached to the handscroll depicted in fig. 2.2 (translation below) as its title and colophon. His commentary describes his impressions of a visit he made to the temple earlier that year on the twenty-third day of the fourth month, when he was warmly received by the temple's eighty-third imperial abbot, Tenkei Shōshū (d. 1700). Kōsen must have written his commentary as thanks for the hospitality he received. But it originally had nothing to do with the painting, which, according to the artist's inscription, was completed only in the third month of 1671, the year following Kōsen's visit. Tenkei probably had the title for Kōsen's commentary, as well as the text itself, appended to the painting when it was



mounted, most likely because Tenkei recognized that praise from an esteemed Ōbaku monk would serve as a fine record for posterity of the cooperative spirit that prevailed between the court and *bakufu* at that time (Kasumi Kaikan 2000, 88). It is also possible, though, that Tenkei asked Kōsen to pen the title especially for the painting after Einō completed it (Ōtsuki 2006).

Kōsen's visit to Sennyūji was preceded by those of other Ōbaku dignitaries, namely its founder and first abbot, Ingen Ryūki (Ch. Yinyuan Longqi; 1592–1673), and second abbot, Mokuan Shōtō (Ch. Muan Xingtao; 1611–1684).[6] Ingen visited prior to construction of his sect's headquarters at Manpukuji, south of Kyoto, probably because of curiosity about the temple's historical ties to China and to show respect to the emperor, whose support he needed to establish his sect in Japan. His successor, Mokuan, probably visited for similar reasons.

Kōsen's title and inscription reads,

Record of [a Journey to] the Eastern Mountains

Four kurosha[7] from our isolated huts of Mount Ōbaku are the mountains known as Higashiyama [Eastern Mountains]. They are located at the eastern edge of the imperial capital [Kyoto]. Their height approaches the heavens and they protect [the capital city] from the easterly direction. Their forests are lush and verdant, magnificent to behold. The area is filled with the spirits of emperors. In this place, a great temple has been constructed. On the left side of the monastery is a divine spring welling up from cracks in the rocks. People constructed a pavilion to surround it with a moss-covered stone enclosure. The spring water is cool, so deep and verdant that the water reflects whiskers and eyebrows. Even during a drought, the spring never dries up. Most likely, springs like Dragon Lake [Ch. Longhu] and Tiger Running [Ch. Hupao] at Hangzhou



2.3. *Manpukuji Temple Precincts,* 1692. Hanging scroll; ink and light colors on paper, 101 × 99.6 cm. Bunkaden, Manpukuji, Uji.

[in China] do not surpass this one. The temple is named Sennyūji [spring surges up] after this divine spring. Long ago, to teach the Buddhist Law, Kōbō Daishi established this temple and subsequently the imperial family supported it. Indeed, its purpose is to protect the people and bless the country. Also, to serve as mortuary temple for many generations of imperial family members. Up to now, 444 monks belonging to the imperial family have resided here to offer prayers for their ancestors. Only imperial family members are able to serve as monks here. I first visited this place three years ago [in 1668], to worship the [sacred relic of the] tooth of Buddha, and to meet the temple's great abbot, Keikō.[8] At that time, the shogun had just completed

restoration of the monastery but he had not yet rebuilt its worship halls. After that, many times I wanted to visit, but had no opportunity. On the twenty-third day of the fourth lunar month in the summer of this year [1670], together with my monk-brothers, I had occasion to travel by litter to the temple Hōon'in for a vegetarian meal. Therefore, I could extend the journey to visit Sennyūji once more. When I first entered the gate I beheld painted pillars and sculpted tiles. Then observed the towering roofs and soaring halls, all so large and interconnected. These halls appear resplendent and magnificent, as if a heavenly palace of the Buddha has descended to the earth. The monks who accompanied me commented that without the virtuous, pious emperor and the powerful shogun, this [magnificent] project could never have been accomplished. And I said "That is true." Shortly later we entered the Buddha Hall where three sacred Buddhist statues are enshrined and we worshiped the golden images. The ceiling of this hall contains a painted dragon, extraordinary in appearance. An image of the bodhisattva Kannon is painted on the rear wall of the hall. It reaches about one *zhang* in height.[9] The bodhisattva sits on the bank of the sea. With eyes like stars, and a face like the moon, that exudes solemnity. The little boy, Zenzai Dōji [Sudhana], looks up and worships Kannon from beneath the riverbank. This painting is by Hōin Tany'ū.[10] After viewing the painting, we entered the abbot's chamber and conferred with the abbot, Master Tenkei. At that time, the master had just received the purple robe of the abbot's position. We drank tea with him, and discussed our feelings after a long period of separation. It was a joyful occasion. After drinking tea, Master Tenkei took us up into the rear hall to view a painting of the Sixteen Rakan by the great artist Chanyue.[11] Some of the Rakan sit on rocks in a relaxed position; some sit under trees with legs crossed in lotus posture; some are seated in meditation; some hold a pagoda; some lean on a staff and smile; and some lower their heads to read a sutra. Their appearance is strange and unconventional. However, their impressive manner and virtuous appearance makes them seem alive. They are indeed rare treasures. After reverently viewing the paintings for a while I returned along the long corridor to the great chamber of the abbot. Hanging on the walls were portraits of the great [Chinese] Buddhist masters of the Lu [Jp. Ritsu] sect, Dao Xuan [596–667] and Lingzhi Yuanzhao [1048–1116], and the founder of the Shingon sect in Japan, Kōbō Daishi. I praised how Master Tenkei's moral appearance and virtuous career resembles that of these honorable masters. He is a great leader of the country. Is it not true that these paintings capture the essence of the masters they portray? Alongside the portraits are three large hanging scrolls of ink bamboo by Great Master Dong.[12] Their elegant appearance is delightful to behold. Master Tenkei showed us calligraphy by Kōbō Daishi. His silver hook strokes and iron wire lines are not inferior to those by Zhong and Wang.[13] They resemble family heirlooms. Then I walked with Abbot Tenkei, looking around the whole temple complex. The scale and layout of this monastery are majestic and splendid. The roof tiles resemble jade and piles of gold. It's as if I am drunk on the beauty of flowers and bamboo. Now-

adays, people are too busy with their work. This journey has been totally different from my last trip here. At that time, I visited the subtemple of Unryū'in. Then, the Retired Emperor [Gomizunoo] announced an edict, which commanded ten monks to transcribe the Lotus Sutra in the proper manner, to aid the [spirit of the] previous emperor in his journey towards the Buddhist paradise in the afterlife. Also for this purpose, a platform for performing a Buddhist ritual was erected. Pure water was sprinkled and flowers scattered. So many endless streams of people came from the four directions to participate in this virtuous endeavor that they filled the road. All expressed joyous feelings for the Retired Emperor. Their selfless acts [of devotion] greatly increased their own spiritual merit. They firmly believed that the Retired Emperor possesses a Buddha Mind and his past actions prove their assertions. Finally, we returned to the chamber of the abbot, talking at leisure and partaking of vegetarian food. At that time, a light fragrant breeze swept my face and I heard the gentle, harmonic singing of birds. Golden crows from the heavenly banks alighted upon slender willows and wandered around the hall. I told my monk-brothers: "No sea is big enough to contain a fish large enough to swallow a boat except a broad sea and nothing can lift up a bird big enough to reach heaven unless it is the violent wind. So if a large temple in a legendary mountain lacks a virtuous master and if a virtuous master is without a great temple at the renowned mountain, then the people cannot be contented. Now, this temple possesses both these things. So the imperial kingdom and Buddhist Law will last for a thousand and ten thousand years without any unexpected tragedies. Isn't this deserving of a great celebration and praise for the country?" After I returned home, I recorded this.[14]

Elite Support for Emigrant Chinese Ōbaku Zen Monks

Shogunal and imperial family sponsorship were essential to the successful transmission of the Ōbaku Zen lineage to Japan in the mid-seventeenth century. Ōbaku was formed when a group of Chan (Jp. Zen) monks of the Chinese Linji (Jp. Rinzai) sect from the temple Wanfusi on Mount Huangbo (Huangboshan) in south China's Fujian Province fled to Japan to escape tumultuous conditions in China. They left because they sided with the overthrown, native Chinese Ming emperor and could not bear to live in their country, overrun by the foreign Manchu barbarians who established the Qing dynasty in 1644. Although their religious beliefs derived from the same basic faith as that of the Japanese Rinzai Zen sect practiced in Japan, they followed significantly different teachings, for the sect's practices evolved separately over the centuries in the two countries. Ōbaku's eclectic and syncretic teachings incorporated Pure Land beliefs, although these were originally ideologically quite different from Chan. They also fused common elements of Confucianism, as expounded by the Ming-dynasty scholar Wang Yangming (1472–1529), Daoism, and Zen Buddhism, which all

emphasized introspective self-cultivation in reclusion and the upholding of moral values. These were, in short, the ideals of the Chinese literati, China's free-thinking intellectuals, many of whom were themselves Ōbaku monks or lay followers of the sect.

Ōbaku had a remarkably broad appeal in Japan. Not only did it convert large numbers of followers, but its influence extended to other sects as well. It also stimulated artistic creativity among makers of Japanese Buddhist devotional imagery who worked for temples unaffiliated with their sect. Ōbaku's broadly humanistic approach to religious teachings also encouraged widespread interest in other aspects of Chinese culture beyond the religious sector, first among intellectuals and artists seeking deeper understanding of China at a time when overseas travel by Japanese citizens was forbidden by the *bakufu.* From the time of the fifth shogun, Tsunayoshi, interest in Ōbaku intensified, even reaching commoners, as part of that shogun's mandate to teach the masses both Buddhism and Confucianism. Tsunayoshi's close political and Confucian-scholar advisers, Yanagisawa Yoshiyasu (1658–1714) and Ogyū Sorai (1666–1728), introduced the shogun to Ōbaku teachings. This resulted in a shogunal invitation to one important Chinese Ōbaku prelate, Yuehfeng Daozhang (Jp. Eppō Dōshō, 1655–1734), to participate in intellectual debates Tsunayoshi hosted at Edo Castle (Bodart-Bailey 2006, 241). However, by the late Edo period, Ōbaku influence began to wane, perhaps due to its increasing assimilation into Japanese society (Baroni 2000, 203).

The Ōbaku monks first settled in Nagasaki, which, until Yokohama became a treaty port in 1859, was the only city where foreigners could legally reside. The Ōbaku monk Itsunen (Ch. Yiran, 1601–1668), also a talented painter, arrived first, in 1644, to serve as abbot of Kōfukuji, a Chinese mortuary temple for resident Chinese traders. He convinced Ingen, then abbot of Wanfusi, to emigrate. Ingen arrived in Nagasaki in 1654, accompanied by twenty monks and ten artisans and helpers. Because Ingen was the highest-ranking Chinese Chan monk to come to Japan in centuries, he was warmly welcomed by the Rinzai establishment.

Ryōkei Shōsen (1602–1670), a Rinzai monk at the powerful temple of Myōshinji in Kyoto, played a pivotal role in the sect's acceptance in Japan. Ingen so impressed Ryōkei that the latter converted to Ōbaku, founding his own temple, Fumonji, in Osaka. Ryōkei successfully petitioned the fourth shogun, Ietsuna, to meet Ingen in Edo. Ingen then had an audience with the shogun in 1658. He was so well received that the following year Ietsuna granted him permission to establish his own temple in Uji, south of Kyoto. In addition to Tokugawa endorsement, Ōbaku enjoyed the favor of Emperor Gomizunoo. The sect would not have been so quickly welcomed nor become so thoroughly entrenched in Japan without this imperial backing. The emperor remained influential among

the high-ranking monks at Kyoto's powerful Rinzai Zen temples. Ryōkei was actually Emperor Gomizunoo's Zen teacher and must have introduced the emperor to Ōbaku teachings. Because of the emperor's exalted status, decorum did not permit Gomizunoo to meet Ōbaku monks in person (because they were not Japanese), but he studied and maintained relations with them through written correspondence. That Ingen and his followers somehow managed to secure support from these two opposing factions, the shogunate and the imperial family, is testament to their diplomatic skills. Which of these two groups deserves more credit for the growth of Ōbaku on Japanese soil remains a point of debate among contemporary scholars.[15]

Ingen's new temple was built on land donated by the shogun, who also provided him with an annual stipend for its perpetuation. He also funded some building materials (including teakwood imported from Thailand), supplied carpenters, and agreed to allow Chinese monks to continue emigrating from China to train at Ōbaku monasteries and to serve as abbot (this practice continued until the Chinese-born twenty-first abbot died in 1784) (Baroni 2000, 181–182). Yet the *bakufu* did not own the land it bequeathed; it merely exerted its authority that ownership be transferred to the Ōbaku monks. The dispossessed owners were one of the noble families, the Konoe, at whose residence Gomizunoo's mother resided and willingly relocated to allow temple construction to begin (Baroni 2000, 191–192).

Following the Chinese custom of naming the sites of temples after mountains, Ingen named his temple's site Mount Ōbaku (Ōbakusan; the Japanese pronunciation of Huangboshan, the mountain upon which his home temple sat), and the temple itself Manpukuji (the Japanese pronunciation of his Chinese home temple, Wanfusi). Construction of the compound began in 1661. The official dedication occurred in 1663, but building continued until 1693. As seen in the sketch of the compound depicted in figure 2.3 above, dated 1692, just before the complex was completed, the main buildings at Manpukuji extend asymmetrically along a central axis leading from west to east. First encountered is the Setting-Free Pond (Hōjōchi), followed by the Mountain Gate (Sanmon). After passing through it, one comes to the Hall of Heavenly Kings (Tennōden), followed by the Main Buddha Hall (at Ōbaku temples this is known as the Shakyamuni Treasure Hall [Daiyūhōden]) and the lecture or Dharma Hall (Hōdō). The Chinese artisans who accompanied Ingen from China and oversaw construction designed the buildings in Chinese Ming-period temple style.

At the time Ingen journeyed to Japan, three Buddhist temples existed in Nagasaki (Kōfukuji, est. 1621; Fukusaiji, est. 1628; and Sōfukuji, est. 1629), each for the use of residents from different regions of China, although Japanese citizens could also pray at these institutions. These came under Ōbaku jurisdiction only after the establishment of Manpukuji. Their close resemblance to Manpukuji is



2.4. Main Hall, Sōfukuji, Nagasaki, 1646. Photograph by author.

exemplified by Sōfukuji's Main Hall (Daiyūhōden), completed in 1646 (fig. 2.4). Its upward-curving tile roofs, bright red painted exterior surfaces, roof ornament of double-onion shape surmounted by a flame, and wooden tablets carved with the gates' or buildings' names set above or flanking the doorway are all features commonly found in late Ming south Chinese Chan Buddhist temples. Like those at all Ōbaku temples, a prominent emigrant Chinese monk penned the template for this tablet. Here, the calligrapher was Sengai Shōan (1636–1705), a monk who arrived in Japan in 1657.[16] Significantly, Manpukuji's structures were left unpainted, perhaps in deference to the large numbers of existing Japanese Buddhist temples in its immediate vicinity.

As the Ōbaku headquarters, Manpukuji originally served as the sole site at which ordination of the sect's monks, nuns, and lay followers could take place. But in 1670, Manpukuji's second abbot, Mokuan, established a new ordination site at Zuishōji, an Ōbaku branch temple in Edo, which served as the sect's headquarters in eastern Japan. Although the complex initially contained a number of interconnected buildings similar to Manpukuji in layout but smaller in scale, they did not last long; in fact, the temple compound had to be reconstructed twice within a century and a half after its establishment due to earthquakes and fires. But by the Meiji era, the condition of the complex had deteriorated so much that few buildings remained. Today, all but the beautifully restored Main Hall (fig. 2.5), whose present form dates to an early nineteenth-century rebuilding (Bunka era, 1804–1818), have vanished. The building's pristine condition



2.5. Main Hall (Daiyūhōden), Zuishōji, Tokyo, 1670. Photograph by author.

resulted in its complete refurbishment in 1987. From the outside, this building clearly resembles, on a smaller scale, Manpukuji's Main Hall, although unlike that building, its makers were Japanese, rather than Chinese, carpenters. Typical characteristics of the Ōbaku building style are evident here. These include *manji* patterns on the railings,[17] curved and carved stone column bases, round windows, and elegant carvings of peaches in inset panels on the main doorway. The large, raised sand courtyard in front of the building is a unique feature of Ōbaku Main Halls. Today it stands within the surrounding temple courtyard as a small oasis of tranquility within Tokyo's bustling urban center.

Like Kan'eiji and Zōjōji, which functioned as eastern Japan's Tendai- and Jōdo-sect headquarters respectively, Zuishōji gave Ōbaku an important presence in the political capital. It was strategically located within a district dominated by large samurai mansions, easily accessible to those high-ranking samurai whose conversion to their faith the sect sought. Because its compound was smaller than Manpukuji's, the Main Hall at Zuishōji functioned as both a Main Hall, where worship services took place, and Lecture Hall (Hattō), which was a separate building at Manpukuji (fig. 2.6). To accommodate this need, carpenters changed the function of the interior space along the side walls flanking the central altar from that seen at both Manpukuji's and Sōfukuji's Main Halls. At those temples, a raised wooden platform served as an altar upon which were placed statues of the Eighteen Rakan, who were especially revered at Ōbaku temples (see fig.



2.6. Interior of Main Hall (Daiyūhōden), Zuishōji, Tokyo. Originally constructed in 1671; replaced with a new building in the Bunka era (1804–1818); last restored in 1987. Photograph by author.

4.3). Here, the side walls became an appropriately respectful elevated, tatami-matted seating area for daimyo and other prominent samurai who came to hear lectures. Still, the temple sought to serve Edo's broader populace as well, and its grounds were spacious enough for Mokuan to hold an unusually large public ordination ritual at Zuishōji in 1674, during which three thousand participants, both samurai and commoners, were inducted into the monastic order and five thousand other followers obtained Buddhist names (Baroni 2000, 59).

While Zuishōji may have been the first Ōbaku institution in Edo and its sect headquarters, it was soon overshadowed by another one. In 1695, Tokugawa Tsunayoshi granted Ōbaku permission to establish Ten'onzan Gohyaku Rakanji, popularly known as Gohyaku Rakanji (the Temple of the Five Hundred Rakan), after a set of statues of the Five Hundred Rakan carved by the founding priest Shōun Genkei (1648–1710) (fig. 2.7).[18] Tsunayoshi allotted this temple land in the rural eastern part of the city. Successive shoguns continued their support, and the temple continued to expand in the eighteenth century. By the end of that century, despite its lack of parishioners (founded as a official land-grant temple of the shogunate, it had no congregation), commoners frequently visited Rakanji to admire its famous statues, set in a building that magically seemed to transport them to the site of the buddha Shaka's sermonizing in India long ago and allow them to climb its now lost towering Spiral Hall (discussed further below) and gawk at its collection of strange, foreign treasures.



2.7. Shōun Genkei (1648–1710). Group of the Five Hundred Rakan from the Gohyaku Rakanji, Tokyo, completed between 1691 and 1695 (or 1700). Lacquered and gilt wood; approximate height of each: 85 cm.

Rakan veneration became especially popular in Japan during the Edo period as a result of Ōbaku influence (see chap. 4). Shōun had learned to carve Buddhist statuary during his youth in Kyoto as the son of a *busshi.* At age twenty-three, he joined the Ōbaku priesthood at Zuiryūji, an Osaka temple headed by Tetsugen Dōkō (1630–1682), a prominent Japan-born disciple of Mokuan.[19] After initial study under Tetsugen, Shōun left for a tour of Kyushu Buddhist temples that lasted seven or eight years. He paid his way and expressed his devotion to his faith by sculpting Buddhist statues as he went. He continued carving statues throughout his life, although until recently only his Gohyaku Rakanji set was known.[20] One temple he visited in northern Kyushu, Rakanji in the scenic mountains of Yabake, possessed stone statues of the Five Hundred Rakan that were said to have been installed in a mountainside cave in the fourteenth century by an emigrant Chinese monk. These so impressed Shōun that he vowed to make

a set himself.[21] Upon returning to Tetsugen's Osaka temple after his sojourn, he told his master of his plan, and Tetsugen urged him to pursue it. In 1687, Shōun moved to Edo and at first sat every day on a street corner by the Kannon Hall of Sensōji Temple in Asakusa, begging passersby to help fund his quest to carve the first set of statues of the Five Hundred Rakan for the city of Edo.

Tetsugyū Dōki (1628–1712), second abbot at Ōbaku's headquarters of Zuishōji, funded the first of this set in 1691; Egoku Dōmyō (1632–1721), Zuishōji's third head priest, funded the second one.[22] In 1692, a group of wealthy merchants banded together to pay for many more and to help set up a proper workshop for their production; the project's momentum continued, and Shōun had fifty subsidized and completed by 1693. At that point, Tetsugyū requested that the shogun grant land for a temple where the statues could be properly venerated. The next year the shogun's mother, Keishōin, decided to support this cause and funded ten more. She also agreed to pay for the gilding and painting of them all. Daimyo and commoners joined the fray, as did the next head priest of Zuishōji, Jitsuden Dōkin (1627–1704), who sponsored one hundred more.

Finally, in 1695, Shōun received a grant of land for his temple from Tsunayoshi and requested that Kōsen, recently appointed as Ōbaku head abbot, officiate at the eye-opening ceremony for the statues thus far completed. The first large-scale public ceremony at the temple the following year must have been a splendid occasion. It took place over a ten-day period, with one thousand monks in attendance. Whether or not Shōun completed all the statues by then is unclear; one source indicates that he did, but another notes that he labored until 1700.[23] In any case, the set included a few statues in addition to the Rakan — 536 in all. Among these were the buddha Shaka and his attendant bodhisattvas Fugen (Skt. Samantabhadra) and Monju (Skt. Mañjuśrī), Daruma, founder of Zen, and the ten great disciples of the buddha Shaka (Shaka Jūdai Deshi).

Shōun is credited in most documents as the sole sculptor of the statues. However, according to the current head priest of the temple, Rev. Saitō Kōdō, the temple's official record of the donations for each statue, including the date donated and the donor's name, states that seven were completed after Shōun died. Most likely, despite his obvious proficiency in the craft, he had the help of apprentices. Reverend Saitō notes that one document suggests that Shōun sculpted only the most important, expressive parts of the statues himself — the heads and hands — and left the rest to assistants, especially as the pace of manufacture picked up after the project was established.

Unfortunately, neither the temple nor its statues have survived well the vicissitudes of time. The temple was destroyed and relocated twice since its inception; its present location dates to 1908. Although it celebrates its Ōbaku origins, it no longer remains affiliated with that sect, nor with any other. During the Meiji period, many of the statues sustained serious damage, and some 200 were de-

stroyed. Only 305 remain at the temple today, in various states of preservation. A few also reside in public and private collections both within and outside Japan.[24]

With the permission of the shogunate and support from local daimyo, the Ōbaku monks ardently proselytized their faith throughout the country. The first official listing of Ōbaku temples in 1745 included 1,043 temples located in 51 of Japan's 66 provinces (Baroni 2000, 187). One provincial Ōbaku temple founded by a daimyo will be discussed below.

Daimyo Patronage of Buddhist Institutions

The Tokugawa shogunate divided the nation into semi-autonomous domains beholden to their central authority, each ruled by hereditary families of daimyo. These domains numbered approximately 240 and varied greatly in size and wealth. The most trusted daimyo, blood relatives of the Tokugawa, oversaw the largest domains, closest to the center of the country or in strategic locations. Other allies were also well rewarded. Few large domains were granted to daimyo who had initially opposed the Tokugawa. Most of this group with large landholdings resided in provincial backwaters or were particularly adept at negotiating the complex web of political allegiances, often through intermarriage with more powerful and trusted families, in a bid to retain their positions. Early in their administrative tenures, most daimyo established clan temples and supported construction and renovation of Buddhist temples in their domains, to both accord with *bakufu* directives on religious institutions and to demonstrate empathy for their subjects' spiritual well-being. Many daimyo castle towns developed thriving temple districts.[25] Because wooden temples often succumbed to fires and earthquakes, and because rampant temple destruction occurred from the end of the Edo era and into the beginning of the Meiji period, many of these temples and their records have not survived, challenging accurate understanding of their histories.

Examining the spread of Buddhist sects and the appearance of temples that daimyo erected within their respective domains facilitates understanding of the degree of political autonomy daimyo had within those domains.[26] Following *bakufu* precepts, daimyo restricted only certain militant Buddhist sects. Approved Buddhist sects and some nationally famous individual temples operated branches or oversaw national networks of traveling lay pilgrim guides and itinerant priests, though with uneven geographic distribution. It seems that while the Tokugawa *bakufu* strictly regulated the operation of religious institutions and the general appearance of temple structures, the daimyo took charge of their own religious worship and, to a certain extent, that of the citizens living within their domains. The central government also did not regulate the detailed

appearance of individual temples, so, as the examples presented below will show, some interesting regional variations resulted.

The Maeda clan, centered in Kanazawa in Ishikawa Prefecture (formerly Kaga Province), was the wealthiest of all the daimyo. Like Tokugawa Ieyasu, the Maeda clan founder Toshiie (1538–1599) had been a trusted general under both Nobunaga and Hideyoshi, but initially he opposed Ieyasu's bid for hegemony. To show his solidarity, his two sons were married to Tokugawa daughters. His younger son, the third Maeda daimyo, Toshitsune (1593–1658), oversaw an ambitious renewal of his castle town that included construction of a temple district.[27] Toshitsune also sought to demonstrate his beneficence to commoners by restoring old temples elsewhere in his domain. The most important of these was Natadera, a temple on the rocky slopes of Mount Haku (Hakusan, or White Mountain), one of Japan's three most sacred peaks. Under Toshitsune, the temple, whose sectarian affiliation had previously varied in accordance with the preferences of the monks who resided there, first became associated with the Shingon sect, with which it has continued to be aligned to the present (Natadera now functions as one of the regional headquarters for Shingon's Kōyasan branch).[28] Toshitsune's motivation for rebuilding this temple may also have been tied to his quest to raise his prestige above other, more trusted daimyo. He had arranged for his daughter to marry an imperial prince, Hachijō Toshitada (1619–1662), uncle and close adviser to Emperor Gomizunoo.[29] To publicly announce this relationship, Toshitada included in his restoration a hall for veneration of Emperor Gomizunoo.

A temple where Natadera now stands had been established in 717 by Taichō, a type of early Buddhist ascetic practitioner or holy person (*hijiri*), later known as *yamabushi* (lit. "those who lie down in the mountains"), who ventured into the mountains to commune with the divinities who resided there. These deities bestowed upon such holy persons shamanistic powers to heal the living, foretell fortunes, and cast protective spells. By the Muromachi period, the practices of these *hijiri* had coalesced into a belief system known as Shugendō, loosely affiliated with either the Shingon or Tendai esoteric sects, which synthesized Buddhism rituals and beliefs with shamanistic folk religious practices drawn from Japanese Shinto and Chinese Daoism.[30]

Taichō named the temple Iwayadera (Stone Room Temple) and established a shrine for veneration of the mountain's resident female Shinto *kami,* Kuzuryū Gongen (the Nine-Headed Dragon divinity), who in *honji suijaku* ideology was actually the native manifestation of a Buddhist deity, the Eleven-Headed Kannon Bodhisattva.

Emperor Kazan (r. 985–987) journeyed to Iwayadera in 986 and became convinced that he could feel the spiritual presence there of all thirty-three mani-



2.8. Three-story pagoda at Natadera, Ishikawa Prefecture, 1642. Photograph by author.

festations of Kannon, so he restored the temple and added gardens simulating a Pure Land Paradise presided over by Kannon rather than by the buddha Amida, in one interpretation of Pure Land beliefs. To underscore association with the then newly popular Saikoku Kannon pilgrimage circuit, Kazan renamed the temple "Natadera," after the names of mountains where the first and last temples of that route were located.[31] Emperor Kazan's revelation that all thirty-three forms of Kannon could be found in a single site proved a convenient means for pilgrims to traverse that longer route by substitution and still obtain the same spiritual benefit. Natadera and other temples with mini-pilgrimage routes became extremely popular in the early modern period, as did pilgrimages in general (further discussed in chap. 4).[32] Maeda Toshitsune's rebuilding project, completed in 1642, restored the garden and replaced the damaged structures, including a three-story pagoda (fig. 2.8). The delicate, decorative relief carvings

of peonies and *karashishi* (Chinese lion dogs) on the exterior walls of the pagoda reflect the expert workmanship of the local builders. Similar designs grace the sides of the other buildings.

Another former foe of the Tokugawa was the Mōri clan, which ruled a relatively wealthy domain from Hagi, Yamaguchi Prefecture, at the western end of Honshu nearest Korea. Affluence allowed them the resources to patronize the arts and to pursue scholarly studies in Chinese Confucianism and related intellectual philosophies such as Ōbaku Zen. The third Chōshū daimyo, Mōri Yoshinari (d. 1694), was converted to Ōbaku by Egoku Dōmyō, abbot of Edo's Zuishōji, who came to Hagi at Yoshinari's request to found the Ōbaku temple of Tōkōji there in 1691 (Tamamuro 1992, 650–651).

The temple's existing Main Hall was completed in 1698 by order of Yoshinari's successor, with major repairs undertaken in 1806. At the time of Tōkōji's founding, the Rinzai temple of Daishōin, a mortuary temple for the Mōri family daimyo, already existed. Because of Yoshinari's commitment to Ōbaku, his burial took place at Tōkōji. Upon the death of Yoshinari's successor, a plan was devised to perpetuate both institutions as official clan mortuary temples: odd-numbered clan heads (numbers 3–11) were thereafter buried at Tōkōji, while even-numbered daimyo (number 2–12) were interred at Daishōin (fig. 2.9). The burial site at Tōkōji lies behind the temple within an area demarcated by Shinto *torii* gateways, inspired by the burial practices of the shoguns at the Shinto shrines adjacent to Buddhist temples in Edo and Nikkō. The temple is famous today for five hundred stone lanterns that Mōri family retainers offered to the spirits of their lords.

Another very different type of warrior clan mortuary temple, Hōnenji (formally known as Busshōzan Hōnenji), survives on Shikoku Island in Takamatsu City, Kagawa Prefecture (formerly Sanuki Province). It was founded by a powerful, well-connected daimyo, Matsudaira Yorishige (1622–1695), one of Tokugawa Ieyasu's many grandchildren, to serve as his family's mortuary temple.[33] Yorishige established Hōnenji in 1668 on the site of an old Jōdo-sect temple that had fallen into disrepair during the middle ages. In accordance with *bakufu* policies forbidding the establishment of new temples, he simply resurrected the old temple and bestowed upon it the new name of Hōnenji. This tactic became a common method of circumventing this shogunal mandate and accounts for the frequent renaming and shifting sectarian affiliations of many temples during the Edo period.

Yorishige conceived of a unique design for the temple, which led worshipers along a path that replicated the Pure Land vision of life after death. Most of the original buildings and their devotional imagery, completed soon after the founding of the temple in 1668, remain intact. After entering the first gate, a hall dedicated to the bodhisattva Jizō (Skt. Kstigarbha) welcomes devotees, as he would



2.9. Cemetery at Tōkōji, Hagi, Yamaguchi Prefecture; gravestones date from the seventeenth through the mid-nineteenth century. Photograph by author.

the newly deceased. This is followed by a large, long, eleven-bay-wide building dedicated to the Ten Kings of Hell (Jūōdō), judges who determine one's station in the afterlife (fig. 2.10). From here, visitors follow a tree-lined path adjacent to two ponds, metaphorically the *nigabyakudō* (white path between two rivers). This white path refers to a seventh-century Chinese Buddhist Pure Land parable that describes how a traveler encountered two rivers that blocked his journey, one of fire to the south and the other of pounding waves to the north. His only route lay along a small white path between them, which at first he feared to traverse. As he pondered whether to attempt the path a band of robbers came at him from the east, so he decided to head west. Thereupon he heard voices from the west beckoning him to cross with the admonishment that his faith would guide him to the safety of the Western Paradise of the buddha Amida. Unfortunately, the north pond no longer survives.

The path continues through a series of gates: the Black Gate (Kuromon), the Guardian Gate (Niōmon), the Paradise or Nirvana Gate (Nehanmon), and the gate to the Main Hall. If visitors chose to enter the Guardian Gate they followed a stone path to yet another gate before a worship hall dedicated to the Four Heavenly Kings, guardians of the four corners of the Buddhist universe. Beyond that, worshipers climbed a steep set of stone stairs, then passed underneath the Hall of the Two Buddhas (Nisondō), a structure of unusual design that requires visitors to walk directly beneath finely carved gilt wood, life-size statues of the



2.10. Ten Kings of Hell Hall (Jūōdō), Busshōzan Hōnenji, Takamatsu, Kagawa Prefecture, second half of the seventeenth century. Photograph by author.

buddhas Amida (fig. 2.11) and Shaka. After that, visitors pass through a gate housing the bell tower, then finally up another flight of stone steps to reach the Hall Welcoming Believers to the Pure Land Paradise (Raigōdō). Inside this building, large-scale gilt wood and polychrome statues of the buddha Amida and his host of twenty-five bodhisattvas appear to be flying down out of the heavens to greet the souls of dying believers. Beyond and to one side a small, inconspicuous gate leads to the hill where the graveyard for successive generations of the daimyo of this branch of the Matsudaira clan lay, with Yorishige's tombstone at the summit.

Back at the Guardian Gate, if worshipers chose an alternate path through the Paradise Gate, they came upon the most unusual structure in this temple compound: the Hall of the Three Buddhas (Sanbutsudō), dedicated to Shaka, Miroku, and Amida. This hall is alternately (and more generally) known as the Paradise or Nirvana Hall (Nehandō), constructed especially for use during the most important and universally observed of the myriad Buddhist rites, the Nirvana ceremony (Jp. Nehane). This ritual takes place annually at all major Buddhist temples on the fifteenth day of the second lunar month, commemorating the death of the mortal buddha Shaka (Nehan) and celebrating his rebirth into a state of eternal enlightenment (fig. 2.12). In Japan, the focus of this ceremony is usually a painting, based on textual sources, that portrays the Buddha lying on his side surrounded by devout followers, both monks and laity; a host of Bud-



2.11. Statue of the Amida Buddha inside the Hall of the Two Buddhas (Nisondō), Busshōzan Hōnenji, Takamatsu, Kagawa Prefecture, second half of the seventeenth century. Gilt wood with crystal eyes. Height: 70.5 cm. Photograph by author.

dhist deities, including princely robed bodhisattvas; guardian figures; myriad creatures from the animal kingdom; and Shaka's previously deceased mother and her attendants floating in the clouds above (as seen in fig. 5.6). As depicted in figure 2.12, though, a magnificent and unique life-size panorama of fifty-two statues recreates the Nehan scene, and the three buddhas look down from the Buddhist heavens on the event.

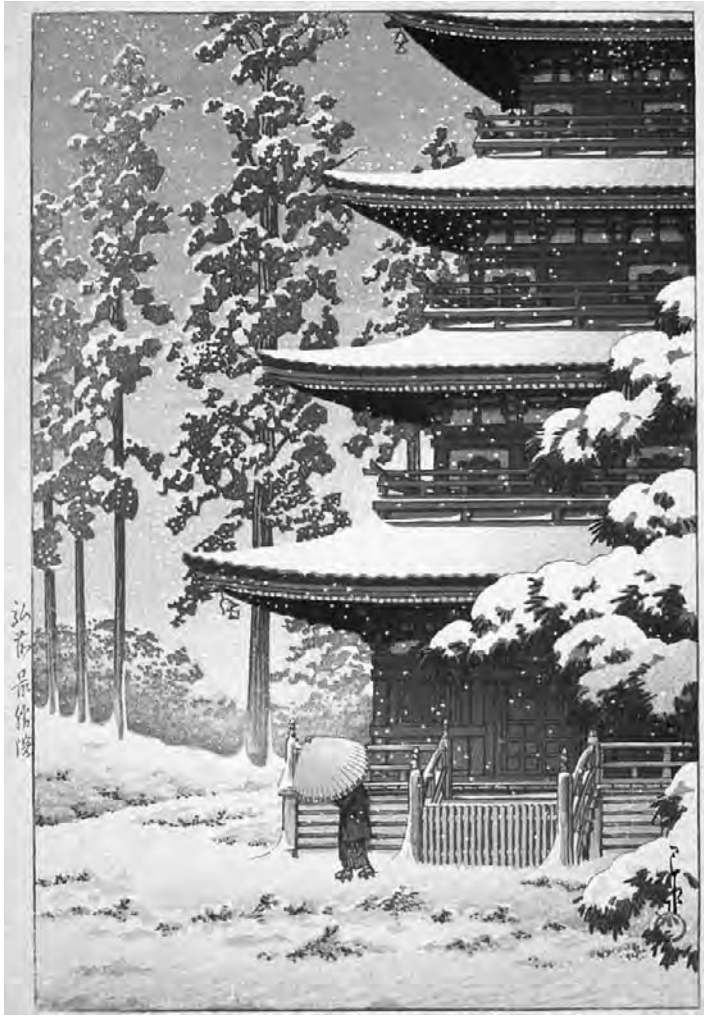
An inscription on the bases of the statues of the three buddhas records the name of a *busshi* from Kyoto, Fujiwara Shigetsugu (dates unknown) as their maker, as well as the year 1673 (Ōtsuki 1985, 314–315). Based on stylistic discrepancies with the rest of the set, scholars believe different sculptors from Kyoto carved the other statues in the Nehan group. Although none of them contains inscriptions, stylistic evidence suggests a completion date around this same time and that their makers were sculptors of Kyoto's Seventh Avenue Atelier, then headed by Kōyū (active ca. 1670–1694; this was not the same person as the previous master of this atelier, whose name was pronounced the same, but which had a different second character) (Kuno 1994, 260–261; Sakai-shi Hakubutsukan 1997, 101–102).



2.12. Overview of the statues re-creating the death of the Buddha, in the Hall of the Three Buddhas (Sanbutsudō); alternate name: Paradise or Nirvana Hall (Nenbutsudō) at Busshōzan Hōnenji, Takamatsu, Kagawa Prefecture. Three buddhas at rear by Fujiwara Shigetsugu (dates unknown), 1673; the remainder of the group by unidentified Kyoto sculptors, third quarter of the seventeenth century. Photograph by author.

At the far northernmost end of Japan's main island of Honshu, the Tsugaru clan resided in Hirosaki, Aomori Prefecture (formerly Mutsu Province). The clan supported Tokugawa Ieyasu only after 1600, and after unification Ieyasu granted them modest-size landholdings. The clan belonged to the Sōtō Zen faith, and early in the seventeenth century the daimyo authorized the relocation of thirty-three Sōtō Zen temples to a new temple district close to their newly built castle.

The family also patronized temples of the Shingon sect, although this association has become somewhat obscured for reasons described below. The Shingon temple of Saishōin, associated with the Tsugaru family as early as 1532, was relocated to the vicinity of the castle in the early sixteenth century (Tamamuro 1992, 282). Its present location, however, dates from the beginning of the Meiji period, when edicts separating Buddhism and Shinto forced it to move and displace another Shingon temple, Daienji, which was then renamed Saishōin. The most famous structure at the present Saishōin site today is a towering 31.2-meter-high, five-story pagoda (the tallest in northern Japan) erected originally for Daienji by the third Tsugaru daimyo, Nobuyoshi, to honor the spirits of the clan's retainers who had died during battles to unify the nation (fig. 2.13). Its dedication took place in 1667 after a construction period of ten years. The famous twentieth-



2.13. Kawase Hasui (1883–1957). *Pagoda at Saishōin in Snow, Hirosaki,* from the series *Collection of Landscape Views of Japan — Eastern Japan Set,* 1936. Woodblock print in ink and color on paper, 36.3 × 24.9 cm. Los Angeles County Museum of Art, gift of Mr. and Mrs. Felix Juda.

century printmaker Kawase Hasui (1883–1957) included a print of this pagoda, with its new name, in his series of prints of famous temples of Japan.

Hyakutakuhaiji (alternately known by its slightly shorter name of Hyakutakuji) is another important Shingon temple of Tsugaru that was lost during the Meiji restoration (Tamamuro 1992, 714–715). It was originally a branch of Saishōin on the outskirts of Hirosaki at the base of the dormant and sacred towering volcanic Mount Iwaki (also known as Tsugaru's Mount Fuji). The temple functioned as the Buddhist counterpart to Iwakisan Jinja, the Shinto shrine of that mountain. The shrine has been a Shinto holy place from as early as the eighth century, but the present buildings date to 1694, when the Tsugaru daimyo had the shrine reconstructed to emulate the shrines erected by the Tokugawa shoguns.[34]

Many of the Hyakutakuji buildings at Iwakisan Jinja still stand, though now



2.14. Main Gate at Iwaki Jinja (formerly Hyakutakuhaiji), Mount Iwaki, Hirosaki, Aomori Prefecture, 1628. Photograph by author.

they function as shrine worship halls, administrative offices, and the like (fig. 2.14). The temple's main gate, a *rōmon*-type structure (with little or no second-floor space and a single, usually hip-and-gable roof) was constructed by the daimyo in 1628. The stone steps leading to the main triple-door entrance and the adjacent railing were also carved at the time of the gate's construction. The railing features an unusual pair of Chinese lion-dog guardians literally crawling up the sides of the pillars closest to the entryway (fig. 2.15), an indication of the vibrant creativity of local stone sculptors. At the time of its demise, the temple's more movable wood sculpture was removed from the shrine precincts. Some has been preserved at the clan's Sōtō Zen mortuary temple of Chōshōji, located in the temple district near the castle, including 109 images from a set of statues of the Five Hundred Rakan, which once adorned the interior of the main gate's balcony floor.[35]

By the end of the Edo period, lacking funding, neither the *bakufu* nor the daimyo could support temples they founded and patronized. But patronage of these temples continued as these institutions embraced commoner devotees, who helped pay for new structures for their own use. Perhaps the most unusual type of building designed for commoners at these daimyo-sponsored



2.15. Lion-dog (Karashishi) guardians from the railing of the main gate at Iwaki Jinja, Mount Iwaki, Hirosaki, Aomori Prefecture, 1628. Stone. Height: approx. 35 cm. Photograph by author.

temples was the Sazaedō, literally "Spiral Shell Hall," sometimes called Spiral or Turbo Hall in English. It featured a novel double-helix-shaped spiral staircase or ramped walkway that allowed separation of up-and-down traffic. An imported British drawing of this sort of staircase from a book dated 1670 by the mathematical lexicographer Joseph Moxon (1627–1700) provided the model through more widely circulated drawings copied by Western-influenced Akita Ranga school samurai painters active in northern Japan (Johnson 2005, pl. 38, 39). The inventor of the double-spiral staircase, however, was Leonardo Da Vinci (1452–1519), who designed a famous grand staircase in this form for the Chateau de Chambord in France (begun in 1519, completed in 1547).

The most famous and earliest recorded building of this type, datable to the 1780s, once stood at Gohyaku Rakanji in Edo.[36] Its design simulated the experience of traversing a pilgrimage route or climbing a sacred mountain for devotees who could not afford to travel far from home. The interior corridor was filled with niches of buddhas or bodhisattvas, usually various forms of Kannon, recreating stops along a pilgrimage route (fig. 2.16). One rare example of a Spiral Hall remains in Hirosaki, known popularly as the Rokkadō (Six-Sided Hall), although it has an eight-sided roof.[37] It was erected in 1839 under the administration of Chōshōji, the daimyo clan's mortuary temple (but paid for by a wealthy



2.16. Spiral Hall (Sazaedō), Hirosaki, Aomori Prefecture, 1839. Photograph by author.

local merchant), as a site for the performance of memorial rites for the tens of thousands of peasants who died in a famine then.

THE TEMPLES PRESENTED in this chapter indicate the importance that both the imperial family and regional daimyo placed on rebuilding the country's religious institutions after long periods of warfare. They display a wide range of architectural types and precinct layouts, reflective of the creativity of temple founders and builders in diverse regions. They also reveal nationwide linkages in networks of religious institutions and patronage circles as professional Buddhist image-makers and craftspeople traversed the country contributing to various temple-building projects throughout Japan. Significantly, most of these projects

took place in the seventeenth century. After that time, many daimyo houses had become too poor to undertake large-scale building projects. Consequently, some of their Buddhist institutions sought funding from another source — the swelling ranks of commoners, who also supported temples of their own, as chapter 3 will show.

Chapter Three
Temples for Commoners

TOKUGAWA POLICIES assured that adherents to government-approved Buddhist sects increased, but because citizens could join temples of their choice, not all sects grew equally. The various Pure Land and Sōtō Zen sects most successfully promoted the abilities of their clerics and sacred deities to help improve the quality of peoples' lives and thereby prospered the most, a situation that prevails even today (Reader and Tanabe 1998; Williams 2000, 2005). By the early eighteenth century, the Sōtō sect had more branch temples throughout the country than any other, although the Pure Land sects had larger numbers of actual supporters (Williams 2005, 2). Successful proselytizing efforts aimed at commoners nationwide by monks from these and other popular sects such as Tendai, Shingon, Nichiren (founded by the zealous monk Nichiren [1222–1282], who promoted veneration of the Lotus Sutra), and Rinzai Zen, whose supporters had once consisted primarily of the privileged classes, resulted in commoners becoming Buddhism's most numerous followers during the Edo period (Kabanoff 1999).

In many instances, commoners frequented and donated money to temples that the shogunate, the daimyo, or even aristocrats had founded or also heavily funded. As described in previous chapters, this occurred, for example, when the *bakufu* agreed to fund a portion of a temple-rebuilding effort or when elite support rebuilt a popular pilgrimage temple that relied on funding from masses of pilgrims for routine upkeep. But as the Edo period progressed, commoner support increasingly replaced funding from the upper classes. This trend began during the reign of the fifth shogun, Tsunayoshi, in the late seventeenth and

early eighteenth centuries, when the *bakufu* and many daimyo became financially insolvent.

However, widespread destruction of Edo-period temples and treasures as a result of natural disasters, the suppression of Buddhism at the end of the Edo and beginning of the Meiji periods, devastation during World War II, and more recent efforts to reconstruct the more ancient appearance of temple compounds challenges our understanding the scope of commoner commitment to Buddhism at this time. Also, much of the religious practice of commoners encompassed quasi-religious activities — participation in festivals, pilgrimages, and sightseeing tours to famous temples, often to view secret, efficacious deities in carnival-like displays — that are often held up as evidence of their religious ambivalence. This chapter will show otherwise — that many of these activities constituted new ways in which commoners expressed their faith in the power of Buddhist deities. It surveys the visual evidence for commoner patronage of temples. Some owed their sustenance to local parishioners, while others, especially head temples of major sects and trans-sectarian pilgrimage sites, attracted masses of visitors from throughout the nation.

Community-Supported Local Temples

Tokugawa edicts forced the construction of vast numbers of temples, encompassing every town and hamlet.[1] Small parish temples (*dankadera* or *dannadera*) derived their income from local communities rather than from visiting pilgrims, grants of land from the central government, or benevolent affluent patrons. The government mandated that individuals could patronize the particular temples only where they formally registered to meet their various religious needs, such as funeral and memorial rites and other annual Buddhist services (Hardacre 2002, 40). Although these temples belonged to various sects, regulations dictated a certain uniformity in the appearance of their buildings. Larger compounds contained entrance gates, central worship halls, subsidiary prayer halls, and adjacent cemeteries for repositories of ancestors' souls (Williams 2000, 259; 2005, 23–24). While some families residing in larger communities could freely choose their sectarian or temple affiliation, many could not, for often only one temple existed in small villages, or social obligations required commoners to patronize the chosen sect of the family's samurai overlord (Marcure 1985, 43). The unkind vicissitudes of time and general disregard by preservationists have resulted in few of these buildings surviving to the present.

One rare extant temple of this type is Sōnenji in Gokayama Ainokura Village in Toyama Prefecture (fig. 3.1). In 1995, the UNESCO World Heritage Commission designated this hamlet of twenty old houses and two nearby villages with



3.1. Exterior view of the Main Hall at Sōnenji, Gokayama Ainokura village, Toyama Prefecture, ca. early nineteenth century. Photograph by author.

similar architectural structures, World Heritage Sites. They preserve what is called *gasshō zukuri* (the phrase refers to buildings with tall, steep roofs resembling hands folded in prayer), a unique form of premodern Japanese farmhouse-style vernacular architecture associated with this snowy region of Japan. Most of these designated structures date from the late Edo or early Meiji periods (early nineteenth century to early twentieth century), although some may date from as early as the seventeenth century. Sōnenji is constructed in this style, but its hip-and-gable roof and front porch distinguish it from the nearby farmhouses. Sōnenji was established in the mid-sixteenth century and was originally affiliated with the Shingon sect, but by the Edo period it had become affiliated with the Jōdo Shin sect. Temple records list fifteen households in the mid-seventeenth century, but by the early nineteenth century member households numbered forty-two.[2] Today, the village has thirty households with ninety residents. Village life in this close-knit community still revolves around the temple, located in the hamlet's center, and the residents are among the most devout Buddhists in all of Japan. As of 2003, the owner of the largest local restaurant that caters to the growing number of tourists who come to see the UNESCO-designated village refused to serve any meat or fish dishes because of his strong Buddhist beliefs.

Pilgrimage Sites

In addition to patronizing local temples, the populace prayed at a variety of other temples. They journeyed to many on religious pilgrimage, one of the defining characteristics of early modern Japanese religious practice and one whose popularity continues into the present, now encompassing hundreds of separate pilgrim sites and circuits throughout Japan. Pilgrimage met personal spiritual needs, but its associated places and temples also contributed to the emergence of a new sense of *communitas* as they attracted visitors from throughout the nation and as geographically dispersed sites became linked together in a single pilgrimage circuit (Foard 1982, 246-247; Toby 2001, 229). Reflecting this importance, pilgrimage in Japan has become the focus of much recent scholarship.[3]

The attraction of pilgrimage sites derived largely from widely circulated stories about extraordinary deeds performed by temples and their icons or miracles that occurred because of the divine presence of a deceased, beloved religious personage. Pilgrims ventured to particularly renowned individual temples, various sacred mountains such as Fuji, or the imperial Shinto shrine at Ise. But most religious travelers did not journey only to these single site destinations; rather, they turned their pilgrimages into multistop tours to various places near their main destination. They also followed meandering routes to sets of related temples. For many pilgrims, their journeys became the highlights of their lives, adventures undertaken as much for the temporary respite from their mundane day-to-day existence as for the religious experience they offered.

The act of embarking on a spiritual quest to holy sites is a universal mode of religious worship, associated with Buddhism from its inception and practiced in Japan as early as the seventh century on a limited basis by ascetic *hijiri* pilgrims. By the Heian period, these wandering ascetics encouraged devout nobility to embark on pilgrimages to deepen their faith and gain spiritual merit for their efforts. Indeed, despite the ardors of pilgrimage journeys, then, pilgrimage had become an important expression of religious devotion among courtiers. They instigated the formation of the first well-defined circuit, the thirty-three temple Saikoku Kannon route, and the circuit to the syncretic *honji suijaku* Shinto-Buddhist sacred mountains of Kumano in southern Wakayama Prefecture, thought to be the earthly abode of the bodhisattva Kannon and residence of Shinto *kami* (this site is further discussed in chap. 4 with regard to the Kumano Heart Visualization and Ten Worlds Mandala paintings).

By the thirteenth century, a cult devoted to the Shingon sect founder Kūkai, reincarnated as a protective deity, emerged and stimulated the creation of the second most popular pilgrimage circuit, the eighty-eight temple Shikoku *henro* (Shikoku Island pilgrimage), on the distant backwater of Shikoku Island, far from Japan's centers of geopolitical power.[4] These were ostensibly places that

Kūkai himself had visited. Representative of the long history of the trans-sectarian nature of religious worship in Japan, in neither the Saikoku nor Shikoku route do all the temples belong to the same sect; rather, it was veneration of a common deity or saintly person that united them, and from early on important and influential monks of various sects traversed them. Because many of the illustrious pilgrim-monks belonged to Pure Land denominations, beliefs promoted by those sects became closely associated with these pilgrimages (Reader 2005, 110).

Only from the fifteenth century did commoners participate more regularly in these excursions, although the great time and expense these required limited their participation. To spread the spiritual benefit reaped from the journey to entire communities, village members formed associations (*kō*) to send designated individuals on the group's behalf. Monks at pilgrimage sites also stimulated interest in pilgrimage by producing devotional and didactic imagery to attract visitors. These early images of pilgrimage sites depict both famous Shinto shrines and Buddhist temples and are generally known as temple and shrine mandalas (*sankei mandara*), one type of cosmic, diagrammatic mandala picture that Japanese religious artists created. In this case, they depicted both the sites and the pilgrims to help viewers visualize the divine power emanating from these places and to encourage both imaginary and actual visitation. Mendicant monks carried these paintings throughout the country for use as visual props in painting recitation sermons (*etoki*).

Hundreds of these largely anonymous paintings survive from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. They represent famous temples along the Saikoku route or other popular pilgrimage destinations (Shibuya Kuritsu Shōtō Bijutsukan 1993; Osaka Shiritsu Bijutsukan 1987a). Typical of these paintings is one portraying temple number 20 on the Saikoku Kannon route, Yoshiminedera, which was restored in the late seventeenth century with funding from Keishōin, mother of the fifth Tokugawa shogun. As shown in plate 2, the painting portrays the temple complex prior to its restoration, as it appeared in the medieval era. Like this example, temple and shrine mandalas typically follow a fixed manner of portraying the sacred complex as the center of the cosmos with a mountain behind the buildings and the sun and the moon hovering above in a cloud-filled sky. The composition focuses on the most important structure of the compound — here, Kannon Hall, located slightly left of center in the painting. But this Buddhist building, as well as other temple structures, is shown surrounded by numerous smaller Shinto worship halls dedicated to a variety of Shinto deities. These are seen in the painting's foreground and all along the left side. They underscore the interconnectedness of Shinto and Buddhist worship in premodern times.

The anonymous artist of this painting has paid careful attention to the de-

tails, which are rendered in a disarmingly charming manner, with all elements defined in thick, bright color. The painting delineates the bustling atmosphere of the site filled with people from various walks of life: peasants in tall hats and white pilgrims' cloaks, musicians with instruments strapped to their backs, shrine priests in white, formally attired nobility praying at the shrines, Buddhist clerics in gray monks' robes, samurai with shaved heads and swords at their waists, and itinerant pilgrims with white robes under black capes, leggings, walking staffs, and broad-rimmed headgear.

Around the time these pictures were being produced, pilgrimage, as both recreation and religious quest, began to boom. In the seventeenth century, the first broad distribution of woodblock-printed, illustrated armchair handbooks and handy pocket-sized guides provided travelers with detailed logistical and factual information about routes and destinations. These whetted people's appetites for journeying and probably contributed to the sharp decline in production of temple and shrine mandalas by the end of that century. These books and other amenities for travelers reflected a growing commodification of the practice that included traveler accommodations, teahouses, transportation services, tourist guides, and souvenirs (Reader 2005, 115–131). Perhaps the most significant factor in facilitating increased travel at that time was increased safety and maintenance of the roads under the structured authority of the Tokugawa *bakufu*.[5] As already noted, some early Tokugawa shoguns had financed reconstruction of many important pilgrimage temples, helping to encourage the practice by making the destinations more attractive to visitors. By the mid-eighteenth century, pilgrimage sites and other famous temples came to be included in woodblock-printed, illustrated guidebooks (*meisho zue*) of distinct regions of Japan as well as in single-sheet maps that showed the layout of individual temples and whole pilgrimage routes.[6] Such prints inspired artists working in the ukiyoe tradition in the nineteenth century to copy their forms, but in the larger, more decorative format of brightly colored, single-sheet woodblock prints. The earliest ukiyoe (pictures of the floating world) were designed for the fashion-conscious urban dwellers who patronized the *ukiyo* (the floating world; a euphemism for urban red-light, entertainment districts). Their appearance coincided with the rise of sophisticated urban commoner culture in the Genroku era of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. At first its paintings, single-sheet prints, and illustrated books portrayed mainly famous Kabuki actors, illustrations of popular Kabuki plays, and the most beautiful women of the day. By the early nineteenth century, ukiyoe artists had broadened their range of subject matter to encompass famous places throughout the country, reflecting the booming interest in tourism at the time that often revolved around journeys to famous, old temples.

Among the most widely distributed group of ukiyoe religious prints is a large



3.2. Utagawa Toyokuni III (Kunisada; 1786–1864) and Andō Hiroshige II (1826–1869). *Yoshiminedera,* from the *Miraculous Stories about the Bodhisattva Kannon* (*Kannon reigenki*), produced between 1856 and 1865. Woodblock print in ink and colors on paper, vertical *ōban* size, approx. 38 × 25 cm. Gene Zema Collection. Photograph courtesy of Carolyn Staley Fine Japanese Prints.

set, *The Miraculous Stories about the Bodhisattva Kannon* (*Kannon reigenki*), produced between 1856 and 1865. It features the three major pilgrimage routes devoted to the bodhisattva Kannon in 105 single-sheet prints: the Saikoku, Chichibu (central Japan, with 34 sites), and Bandō (eastern Japan, near Edo, with 33 sites).[7] The prints were designed by the famous ukiyoe artists Utagawa Toyokuni III (aka Kunisada, 1786–1864) and Andō Hiroshige II (1826–1869). The set met the needs of potential or armchair travelers by providing the most basic and anecdotal information on the temple represented, along with a view of the main buildings in a rectangular cartouche at the top of the print and a description and illustration of an important event associated with the temple in the main frame below[8] (fig. 3.2). The temple illustrated here also represents Yoshiminedera, but in a much more simplified form than in the temple and shrine mandala painting discussed above. The main section describes the life of the temple's eleventh-century founder, Gensan, who was abandoned in the forest by his mother shortly after his birth and, after spending three days alone unharmed by



3.3. Main Hall at Zenkōji, Nagano City, 1707. Photograph by author.

birds and beasts, was found and ultimately reared by a woodsman, as shown in fig. 3.2.

Many of the worship halls at these Edo-period pilgrimage sites were specially designed to accommodate large numbers of pilgrims. Such considerations accounted for the grand size of the verandas and interior public sanctuaries at many popular sites, such as Kiyomizudera in Kyoto (see fig. 1.7), temple 16 on the Saikoku Kannon circuit. Perhaps the most impressive pilgrimage temple hall of all is that at Zenkōji in Nagano City, Nagano Prefecture (fig. 3.3). Zenkōji has long been a cult center for a nationwide network of temples located in nearly every province of premodern Japan for worship of the temple's secret icon, Amida, and his attendant bodhisattvas. In recognition of its importance, Ieyasu granted the temple extensive landholdings to help it generate income from agriculture yields, but because of subsequent fires, which destroyed many of its structures, it needed to raise more revenue for rebuilding than those lands could produce. In 1643, Tenkai, head priest at Kan'eiji in Edo, helped by making Zenkōji his temple's affiliate, guaranteeing high levels of support. Still, funding was insufficient.

Construction of the present Main Hall, erected to replace an earlier incarnation lost to fire, was a mammoth undertaking of enormous expense that took many years of fund-raising. These efforts began in 1692, but progress was marred by complications including infighting among the monks and nuns belonging

to the temple's various subtemples and poor administration of the temple's finances, which resulted in the loss of some of the funds raised (McCallum 1994, 168–173). Because of their passionate belief in the power of Buddhism to placate the population, the fifth shogun, Tsunayoshi, and his mother, Keishōin, helped fund this project, and the shogun required other high-ranking samurai to donate money as well. The temple also engaged in a popular fund-raising practice among religious institutions, holding public exhibitions (*kaichō;* lit. "opening the curtain") of its hidden icon (*hibutsu*), entry to which required an admission fee. In this case, the main icon was never displayed; what traveled instead was its stand-in (*maedachi*), a replica of its famous Amida triad. The *maedachi* stands in front of the shuttered shrine where the original resides, and can itself be viewed only on special occasions.[9] This *maedachi* and other replicas of Zenkōji's famous statue that are enshrined on altars of its branch temples are themselves believed to be endowed with the divine abilities of the deity they represent through ritual sanctification (Reader 1991, 144–145). Such empowerment of replicas has a long history in Japanese Buddhism (and continues today) as a common means of widely disseminating the sacred power of a deity to devotees unable to visit a temple at which some famous statue is enshrined, or because the original statue is too sacred or fragile to be displayed.

Because of Zenkōji's remote location, in 1694 the temple decided to hold exhibitions of its treasures in Japan's three most populous and important urban centers — Kyoto, Osaka, and Edo. But, as required by law, temple administrators had to first petition the government for permission to do so.[10] Helping the cause in Kyoto was one of Edo's celebrated Kabuki actors, Ichikawa Danjūrō I (1660–1704), who then happened to be performing in the city. Danjūrō himself was a devoted Buddhist who often used his plays to promote religious piety and the efficacious power of Buddhist deities. In this case, he starred in a newly written play about Zenkōji's Amida, who resurrected a slain hero in the guise of a devout Zenkōji priest; the priest then used Amida's divine power to overthrow an unjust ruler. In a mutually beneficial manner, the play boosted the fame and incomes of both the actor and the temple (Kominz 1997, 53)

Finally completed in 1707, Zenkōji's towering Main Hall became, and remains, the largest thatched-roof building in Japan. It contains an outer, middle, and inner sanctuary, used as prayer halls for worshipers, as well as an off-limits sanctum sanctorum that houses the main icon no one ever sees. Central to the visitor experience is a powerful participatory activity designed to simulate death, suffering that comes afterward in the underworld, and then ultimately salvation in the buddha Amida's Western Paradise. Deep inside the Main Hall worshipers descend stairs underneath the sanctum sanctorum into a pitch-black tunnel (*kaidan meguri*), where they grope their way through a passage hoping to touch a key (located in the wall directly beneath the temple's sacred icon) that

will grant them entrance into Amida's Paradise after death. Although serious in intent, many visitors simultaneously considered this a thrilling, enjoyable activity. Consequently, many contemporary temples have picked up on the idea and have created similar passageways under their sanctuaries to attract visitors, as will be discussed in chapter 9.

Not all pilgrimage temples relied on large worship halls. Some, especially at mountains sacred to Shugendō, which commingled diverse religious traditions and where veneration of multiple deities took place, consisted of numerous smaller sanctuaries, sometimes in caves or in the open. By the Edo period, the sacredness of these mountain sites was already well established. Although many had fallen into disrepair during the turbulent late medieval era, financial support from daimyo and nobility helped with the revival of many during the seventeenth century, when they began to attract greater numbers of pilgrims, both serious Shūgendō *yamabushi* and more casual lay pilgrims. These temples offered travelers a chance to see splendid scenery and engage in monastic activities, including *takigyō,* a waterfall purification and meditative rite in which participants plunge into the waters of a frigid mountain waterfall. The popular appeal of this ritual is evident from its appearance in an ukiyoe print by Utagawa Kuniyoshi (1797–1861), the *Roben Waterfall at Ōyama,* circa 1850 (plate 3).[11] Pilgrims who visited Mount Fuji often stopped at Mount Ō (Ōyama; Big Mountain) and also at nearby Yakuōin on Mount Takaō (Takaōsan), a large Shingon-Shugendō temple outside Tokyo most celebrated today for its brilliantly colored autumn foliage (Hardacre 2002, 105–109). During the Edo period, Yakuōin served as an officially designated prayer temple for the Tokugawa family's Kii branch (who administered the present-day Wakayama Prefecture) (Vesey 2004). It was also open to the general public, who made pilgrimages to the mountain for ascetic retreats as well as for worship of its various deities, the most popular of whom was Izuna Gongen, a protective mountain-dwelling spirit of a type known as *tengu,* with wings and long noses or beaks, but otherwise in human form. *Yamabushi* have a special fondness for *tengu,* believing that their ascetic deprivations will transform them into these immortal creatures (Fister 1985).

Yakuōin's Izuna Gongen Hall is a good example of a Shinto shrine building at a Buddhist-Shugendō pilgrimage site mountain-temple complex (fig. 3.4). First constructed in 1729, then damaged and repaired in 1753 and again in the 1960s, it is a brightly painted structure that has somehow survived despite the high incidence of mountain fires. Befitting the temple's status of association with a Tokugawa clan, the same lineage of carvers who created the Nikkō Tōshōgū shrine crafted its intricate and deeply cut relief sculptures. Although the temple possessed lands worth seventy-five *koku* and collected money from branch temples, this patronage proved insufficient for its funding as the Edo period progressed, and it turned to other commercial activities, including the holding of



3.4. Izuna Gongen Hall at Yakuōin, Mount Takao, Saitama Prefecture, first constructed in 1729; repaired in 1753 and again in the 1960s. Photograph by author.

public exhibitions of its treasures, some in Edo, for additional income. At these events, it capitalized on the temple's association with the powerful Tokugawa family by displaying some treasures the clan donated to the temple as a means of attracting greater numbers of paying customers.

Popular Temples in and around Edo

Soon after Tokugawa Ieyasu founded Edo, construction of hundreds of temples, founded either with shogunate sponsorship or daimyo support, commenced. Most allowed free access to commoners. Temples welcomed the public to liturgical services held according to a regular schedule throughout the year and also encouraged private devotions before icons of popular deities at other times.[12] As the nation's capital, Edo possessed the largest and densest concentration of commoners in the nation. Although these temples served this population's spiritual needs, they also became intertwined with city life in other ways. Some of these temples grew famous and came to attract visitors from afar as well.

The rapid expansion of the city in its first century sometimes necessitated relocation of newly built temples, at first to accommodate new influxes of citizens and then in response to reconfigurations of the city's dwelling zones after the disastrous Meireki-era fire of 1657. Unfortunately, many of Edo's temples no longer survive, but information on their history, attractions, appearance, and

activities that took place under their jurisdiction can be gleaned from copiously illustrated accounts in Saitō Gesshin's massive twenty-volume tome, *Illustrated Guide to Famous Places of Edo.*

The most famous temple in Tokyo today is Sensōji. As described in chapter 1, it first became important in city life when the Tokugawa family authorized it to serve as its prayer temple early in the Edo period. Although the early Tokugawa shoguns patronized the temple, it never lacked for popular support. As the Edo period progressed and funding from the Tokugawa waned, the temple turned to its popular base of support for assuring its financial solvency and refashioned itself as a center for both the religious and secular life of urban commoners. The numerous shops within its precincts came to attract as many patrons as its prayer halls. It generated income through the sale of amulets and by sponsoring popular amusements, including, on occasion, prostitution.

Most buildings at Sensōji did not survive World War II; nearly all date to a 1957 reconstruction.[13] Yet because of its preeminence in Edo life, artists at the time frequently represented it in paintings and woodblock prints. Among the early representations of this temple is the screen depicted in plate 4, which reveals its appearance in the first half of the Edo period, perhaps on the cusp of its ascendancy as a place of popular pilgrimage and diversion. Unlike later pictures of the temple compound, the view of the buildings is not hampered by crowds. Clearly the artist intended the temple itself to be the focus rather than its popular amusements or throngs of visitors, as was common in later representations.

The practice of displaying secret icons and other temple treasures to the public — but only those who paid an admission fee — became widespread during the Edo period (Kornicki 1994; Ambros 2004). The practice was known as early as the ninth century in China and had also taken place in Japan from the Kamakura period (Ambros 2004, 2–3). By viewing in person sacred images, often kept hidden from sight, visitors could establish a spiritual connection with the deities they represented. It was widely believed that deities inhabited their iconic images during these occasions and that by viewing the icon with their own eyes they would be blessed by the deities' divine powers .[14] By the Edo period, though, such viewings had become moneymaking ventures for temples, especially in Edo, where huge crowds guaranteed generous profits. The viewings enabled temples to raise money for expensive reconstruction and general upkeep and were also sometimes held to offer divine benevolence and alleviate suffering after particularly horrific disasters. To attract the desired crowds, temples concurrently set up carnival-like performances and exhibitions of exotic curiosities (*misemono*) within their grounds. Owing to government restrictions, these exhibitions could take place only once every thirty-three years for a duration of about sixty days. Sensōji held thirty-two *kaichō* during the Edo period, the first

in 1654. It also held twenty-seven displays of other temples' treasures (*degaichō;* lit. "external openings of the curtain").

Although these *degaichō* took place in many large cities in Japan, Edo hosted the largest share by virtue of the potential for profits offered by its sizable population. Temples located far from Edo formed alliances with local host temples, often famous places themselves, which earned a percentage of the income. Hōryūji's *degaichō* in Edo in 1694 has already been noted in chapter 1. Sometimes the provincial temples initiated these affiliations, and sometimes local temples needing cash instigated the contact with famous temples in distant provinces. Ekōin was one temple where *degaichō* were held quite often — in fact, more than any other Edo temple. In 1692, it hosted one that featured the *maedachi* of Zenkōji's famous Amida triad, when that temple sought to raise money for construction of its new Main Hall.[15]

Ekōin's popularity must have stemmed from its image as the quintessential commoner temple. It belongs to the Jōdo sect and was founded by shogunate order as an official state-sponsored burial site for the unidentified 108,000 victims not survived by family members during the 1657 fire. In 1675, these destitute people and others who died later from various causes, who also had no family members to mourn them, were interred in a common grave, and a bronze statue of the buddha Amida was cast and erected on the spot to protect their souls (fig. 3.5). Regrettably, a fire destroyed that statue in 1703, but in 1705, the *bakufu* ordered one of their most important, officially employed bronze casters, Ōta Rokuemon (aka the sixth-generation Kama or Kamaroku), to create a replacement. The expertise of the maker is evident upon close inspection, which reveals over ten separately cast pieces joined together afterwards.[16] Because they are impervious to the elements, bronze statues are normally placed outdoors in temple courtyards or cemeteries or alongside roads, where they offer divine protection to deceased persons or travelers. This statue served such a purpose until construction of the temple's modern Main Hall in 1970, when it was placed upon the altar of the new building as the temple's principal object of worship.

Throughout the Edo period, Ekōin remained a mortuary temple for destitute citizens, including criminals. More recently, it has become a cemetery for lost pets, whose souls are interred in a huge, common burial mound. Because of its association with ordinary citizens, it became a popular pilgrimage destination and gathering place for commoners in Edo. Its fame among the needy increased in the mid-nineteenth century because of the interment there of "Rat Boy," a Robin Hood-like popular hero who helped the poor. Consequently, the temple is popularly known as the Shrine of the Rat Boy. During the eighteenth century, Ekōin, located in the popular entertainment district near the Ryōgoku Bridge, became associated with sumo wrestlers, who held tournaments in its precincts and buried their topknots at the temple when they retired, a practice that con-



3.5. Ōta Rokuemon (active late seventeenth to early eighteenth century). *Amida Buddha* at Ekōin, Tokyo, 1705. Cast bronze. Height: 282 cm. Photograph courtesy of the Rittō City History Museum, Shiga Prefecture.

tinues today. The first sumo tournament took place there in 1768 to help the temple raise money for its upkeep, and the tournaments continued there until construction of the nearby National Sumo Stadium in 1909.

Another popular place for *degaichō* in Edo was a now-defunct temple, Eitaiji, a Shingon-sect affiliate located in the Fukagawa District, which housed the largest concentration of religious institutions east of the Sumida River that divided Edo. One of the most nationally celebrated sacred images displayed on numerous occasions at Eitaiji was the statue of Fudō Myōō (Skt. Acalanātha; Ch. Budong Fo), one of the five Buddhist Wisdom Kings (Skt. Vidyārāja; Jp. Myōō), enshrined as the central icon at Naritasan Shinshōji, a famous Shingon temple located in the countryside 43 miles (70 kilometers) outside Edo.[17] At the time, traveling this distance took two days and one night by foot and boat from the city — not a trip everyone could undertake (Kominz 1997, 37). In 1703, the statue was brought to Edo for the first time so that all the residents of the city could venerate it. Eitaiji erected a new building to house the guest icon, Fukagawa Fudō Hall. Keishōin, the fifth shogun's mother, helped finance this event. As thanks for her efforts,

the temple allowed a subsequent private showing for her at Edo Castle of the treasures displayed at Eitaiji. Her high status precluded her attendance at places frequented by commoners (Shinshōji 1968, 495). *Degaichō* of Naritasan's Fūdō at this temple took place fifteen times, until the temple's destruction in 1898, testifying to the continued popular appeal of Shinshōji's icon into the Meiji period, even during a time of great Buddhist persecution. Realizing the strength of Shinshōji's devotees, Meiji authorities placated them by allowing worship of the deity with a new Shinto name of Ugokazu no mikoto (Unmoving *kami*) (Ketelaar 1990, 75). The ukiyoe printmaker Utagawa Hiroshige III (1842–1894) has depicted one of these Meiji *degaichō* in his print *Fukagawa Fudōson,* dated 1885 (plate 5). It captures a fleeting moment in Japan's past, when the nation teetered between tradition and modernity. Although gathering for a traditional religious occasion, everyone seems to be carrying modern, Western-style umbrellas, and the approach to the temple is lined with gas street lights. Women and some men wear traditional kimono, but some of the men appear in top hats and formal Western suits.

Naritasan Shinshōji was founded in 940 by imperial order in response to a miraculous occurrence. A rebellion by a local warrior required the then-reigning emperor to dispatch troops to eastern Japan. He also ordered a priest to travel to the area together with a sacred icon of Fudō Myōō, borrowed from the Fire Offering Hall (Gomadō) at the Kyoto temple of Jingōji. This statue was believed to have miraculous powers because Shingon's founder, Kōbō Daishi, was said to have carved it for Jingōji on the occasion of a rebellion. Kōbō Daishi reputedly used the statue as a focus for his pleas to the deity Fudō in a Shingon fire ritual (*goma*) to successfully stop the rebellion. The duty of the priest who traveled east with imperial troops in 940 was to perform this same fire ritual, again imploring Fudō to render his divine intervention and restore peace. On the last day of the three-week ritual, troops succeeded in quelling the rebellion. However, when the priest attempted to lift the statue to return it to Jingōji, it had inexplicably grown too heavy to move, and an oracle declared that Fudō wished the statue to remain there forever to aid the locals. Thereupon the emperor ordered a temple constructed on the spot to house it and named it Shinshōji (Temple of the Newly Won Victory) (Shinshōji 1968, 14–15; Reader 1991, 143–144). Although the temple maintains that the image enshrined in its Main Hall today is the same one described in this legend, art historians disagree, dating the statue to the second half of the thirteenth century.[18] Visitors to the temple can see it only on special occasions; its more recently made *maedachi* is always on view, placed in front of the closed reliquary that houses the sacred statue.[19]

Although of great antiquity, because of its remote, provincial location, Shinshōji remained a humble institution until the Edo period, when Tokugawa Ieyasu moved his capital to the area.[20] According to temple records, Ieyasu gave

support to the temple because its abbot had converted him to Buddhism. In a show of support for Ieyasu, his closest supporters, the Tokugawa collateral families, followed his example and patronized the temple as well. Concurrently, Ieyasu required the Sakura daimyo, within whose domain the temple lay, to oversee its upkeep.[21] Ieyasu may have sought the divine protection of Shinshōji's main deity for several practical reasons. First, because it was situated northeast of Edo, he may have likened the site with the Tendai-sect headquarters of Enryakuji atop Mount Hiei, northeast of Kyoto. Enryakuji had been founded to protect Kyoto from the unlucky northeast direction, and perhaps he hoped Shinshōji could protect Edo in the same way (Shinshōji 1968, 494). Also, military and political success accounted for Shinshōji's founding, an auspicious association for Ieyasu's aspiring hegemony.

Although Ieyasu was said to patronize the temple, it was not until the reign of the fourth shogun, Tokugawa Ietsuna, that the shogunate embarked on a building project there: the reconstruction of the Main Hall in 1655. This small, fairly conventional building, now a hall for venerating the buddha Yakushi and used as a calligraphy school classroom, remains standing today along the main road of Narita City leading to the temple. However, other building projects sponsored by the military elite never materialized due to increasing financial strain on the *bakufu* treasury and the waning fortunes of the daimyo. Consequently, the temple's first age of fluorescence, in the early eighteenth century, was fueled instead by massive funding from ordinary citizens.

Spearheading this initiative was the wildly successful and affluent Kabuki actor Ichikawa Danjūrō I. Danjūrō was born into the Horikoshi merchant family of Edo, although the family had once been samurai.[22] Devotion to the valiant traits of this samurai heritage is apparent in his choice of heroic characters and their noble deeds. Danjūrō's success stemmed from his invention of a rough and masculine style of movement (*aragoto*), especially his imitation of the ferocious stances of the virtuous and powerful Buddhist deities he revered. Sometimes he played the role of Fudō Myōō so forcefully that viewers imagined the deity had come to life before their eyes (Kominz 1997, 81). Danjūrō kept a diary in which he recorded his deep feelings for Buddhism. In it, he claimed that he owed this talent to Fudō himself, who had taught him in a dream the secret of his penetrating glare.[23]

Danjūrō became associated with Shinshōji because of familial ties to the area. His devotion to the temple grew stronger after the safe birth of his first child in 1688. During his wife's pregnancy, he had prayed to the temple's icon of Fudō Myōō. As thanks to Shinshōji's Fudō, he began writing and starring in Kabuki plays with themes featuring the god's miraculous powers. He also had his son, Kuzō (Ichikawa Danjūrō II, 1688–1758), whom he considered "Fudō's gift," play the part of the deity Fudō Myōō (in the fifth month of 1697) in the play in which



3.6. Unsigned; attributed to Torii Kiyonobu (1664–1729). Page from the book *The Origin of the Soga Warrior* (*Tsuwamono Kongen Soga*) showing Ichikawa Kuzō as Fudō Myōō and Ichikawa Danjūrō I as the warrior Gorō, 1697. Woodblock-printed book in ink on paper, 22.5 × 15.5 cm. The Library of the Tokyo National University of Fine Arts and Music.

Kuzō made his stage debut, *The Origin of the Soga Warrior* (*Tsuwamono Kongen Soga*). During the run of the play, audience members responded to the presence of Fudō onstage in an unprecedented manner, with prayers and offerings as if the theater were a temple hall (Kominz 1997, 69.) An unidentified artist of the Torii school of ukiyoe printmakers (possibly Torii Kiyonobu, 1664–1729) created a scene-by-scene illustrated record of this production that depicts a critical scene in which young Kuzō, as Fudō, stops a fight between two warriors (fig. 3.6).

Several years later, in 1703, Danjūrō authored and starred in another play about Shinshōji's Fudō, *The Avatars of the Fudō of Narita Temple* (*Naritasan Bunjin Fudō*), which opened at the same time the sacred image was having its Edo debut at Eitaiji. As already mentioned, although Keishōin may have helped finance this event, it was most likely Danjūrō — together with the temple's new and energetic abbot, Shōhan Shōnin (d. 1724), who took over temple administration in 1700 — who made it a success because the play gave the deity and its temple great publicity (Kominz 1997, 92–93). This sort of celebrity promotion of *degaichō* became a common occurrence at these events.

In spite of his public acclaim, Danjūrō remained a humble, devout Buddhist throughout his life who openly proclaimed that he owed his success to his prayers and devotion to specific deities with whom he felt personal attachment, especially Fudō Myōō, but also others (Kominz 1997, 61). Such pronouncements inspired his admirers to become fervent devotees of Buddhism in general and of Shinshōji's Fudō in particular. Because so many of them embarked on pilgrimages to Naritasan Shinshōji, sometimes under his leadership, and supported the temple by attending its *degaichō* in Edo, the temple became quite wealthy. Danjūrō's descendants helped this effort by promoting the temple and its deity among their fans throughout the Edo period.[24] These admirers often banded together in groups of confraternities — lay religious organizations (*kō*) that were composed of merchants or tradespeople of Edo, including geisha, fishmongers, woodworkers, firemen, and Kabuki actors (Shinshōji 1968, 273).

Owing to the consistency of its popular patronage, this temple constructed some of the finest early modern temple architecture in Japan, most of which remains standing today. The first phase of the grand refurbishing of the temple began with the completion of a new Main Hall and bell tower in 1701, a three-story pagoda in 1712 (fig. 3.7), and a Sutra Hall in 1722. The pagoda, bell tower, and Sutra Hall underwent repairs in 1981 to restore their original appearance, with brilliantly polychromed exterior surfaces and elaborate relief carving similar to that on the buildings at the Nikkō Tōshōgū shrine and other temples and shrines in close proximity to Edo — for example, Yakuōin (see fig. 3.4 above).[25] This style of carving on exteriors of buildings had been applied first to Momoyama-period religious structures for the military elite, who used it to portray politically correct, Confucian, and Daoist themes that expressed rulers' desires for the longevity of their reign and progeny and the wisdom of their methods of governance. These designs offered examples of meritorious deeds by ancient Chinese Confucian sages worthy of emulation.

By the early eighteenth century, just around the time Tokugawa Tsunayoshi officially sanctioned the teaching of Confucianism to all citizens, this imagery began to appear on new temple buildings for commoners' use.[26] Shinshōji's pagoda actually includes some of the same Daoist and Confucian figural subjects as at Nikkō, which, of course, are not traditional to Shingon temples. Unpainted relief carvings of the Sixteen Rakan appear on the pagoda's sides as well. The appearance of these subjects from different religious traditions reveals both the conflation of such traditions and the pervasive influence of Chinese learning. Furthermore, the inclusion of Rakan, a subject more commonly found at Zen temples, at an important and popular Shingon temple reflects the explosive growth in popularity of Rakan during the eighteenth century (further discussed in chap. 4).

Another building erected around this time, the Sutra Hall, exemplifies a pop-



3.7. Three-story pagoda at Naritasan Shinshōji, Narita, Chiba Prefecture, 1712. Photograph by author.

ular means of attracting the interest of devotees. It housed a complete collection of all known Buddhist scriptures, the *tripitaka,* in a huge revolving bookcase in its central chamber. This feature was especially popular at Edo-period temples frequented by commoners and remains so today. Visitors enjoyed the participatory experience of setting the spinning bookshelf in motion in the belief that the turning motion could transfer all the wisdom contained in the myriad volumes to the visitors themselves.[27]

By the early nineteenth century, numerous commoners regularly visited Shinshōji to pray to Fudō Myōō for protection against fires and epidemics and also because its relative proximity to the city made for an easy and enjoyable several-day excursion. The temple was most crowded, as expected, on the designated *kaichō* viewing dates, twenty-three during the early modern era.[28] Visi-



3.8. Main Gate (Niōmon) at Naritasan Shinshinōji, Narita, Chiba Prefecture, 1830. Photograph by author.

tors donated numerous offerings to the temple, including some votive paintings commissioned from famous artists of Edo.[29] In response to this escalating popularity in the nineteenth century, the temple commenced a second major building phase.

In 1830, Shinshōji's Main Gate (Niōmon), famous for its giant lantern, was rebuilt with funding from members of the local fishmarket association, whose name the lantern bears and which remains responsible for its periodic replacement (fig. 3.8). It, too, contains carvings of Confucian sages on its walls. After first being restored in 1768, the 1701 Main Hall was replaced by a new, larger structure in a more up-to-date style, dedicated in 1858 (fig. 3.9). Funding for this 1858 project came from donations from over ten thousand worshipers, an effort coordinated by the local Sakura daimyo. The exterior has extensive wooden relief carving on the walls and doors of themes not traditionally seen at Shingon temples, but which were especially popular in the late Edo period: the Confucian Twenty-Four Paragons of Filial Piety and the Five Hundred Rakan. Rakan, as exemplars of Buddhist morality, were considered the Buddhist equivalent of Confucian sages, accounting for the pairing of these subjects here. These images were carved over a ten-year period by an artisan named Matsumoto Ryōzan. Ryōzan's Rakan were based on sketches by an Edo-based Kano-school painter



3.9. Hall for Worship of the Buddha Shaka (Shakadō) at Naritasan Shinshōji, Narita, Chiba Prefecture, 1858. Photograph by author.

of the day, Kano Kazunobu (1816–1863), who also created the ceiling painting for this new building. Kazunobu was, at the same time, engaged in the magnum opus project of his career, a monumental set of one hundred scrolls of the Five Hundred Rakan for the Tokugawa family temple of Zōjōji (see plate 7).[30]

When the 1858 hall was built, the older Main Hall was actually moved to a location behind the new one, turning it into a Kōmyōdō, a hall dedicated to the buddha Dainichi (Skt. Mahāvairocana, the esoteric form of Birushana, the Buddha of Cosmic Life), and its form was modified.[31] Later, prior to construction of the current Main Hall in 1968, the temple relocated both of these buildings to their present sites at the complex. At that time, the 1858 Main Hall became a Hall for Veneration of the Buddha Shaka (Shakadō).

The final construction of this mid-nineteenth-century building boom was the votive Tablet Hall (Gakudō) (fig. 3.10), an open-air structure dedicated in 1861 where large-scale votive tablets (*ema*) presented to the temple by devotees would be displayed. The Kabuki actor Ichikawa Danjūrō VII (1791–1859) funded the construction costs of this building. Danjūrō VII was famous for his extravagant lifestyle, which annoyed the authorities so much that they banished him from Edo for ten years, beginning in 1842 (Kominz 1997, 105–106). During this period, he resided and acted in Osaka, where Kabuki was also extremely popular, and managed to amass even more wealth. His lavish donation of this building to the temple at the end of his life was probably stimulated by deep remorse for the



3.10. Votive Tablet Hall (Gakudō) at Naritasan Shinshōji, Narita, Chiba Prefecture, 1861. Photograph by author.

untimely death of his eldest son and heir, Ichikawa Danjurō VIII (1823–1854), with whom he had a strained relationship and who committed suicide in Osaka after being summoned there to perform with his father.

THIS CHAPTER HAS introduced a diverse group of temples, from small, thatched-roof cottages to those of monumental proportions; from provincial temples for local villagers and ascetic practitioners to those visited by teeming masses of urban dwellers; and from the resplendent structures of ancient, nationally famous pilgrimage centers to those that had been newly established in the Edo period or substantially expanded then. The modesty of some temples stemmed from the limited resources of their parishioners, but many others openly emulated the architectural styles of temples for elite samurai, indicating the astonishing wealth of donations that temples were capable of collecting and the prestige that such emulation conferred upon commoner patrons.

When considering the diversity of these temples alongside the plethora of Buddhist architectural types designed for exclusive use by the imperial family and elite samurai of the era, the complexity and richness of early modern Buddhist sites and ritual practices becomes apparent. Many of these sites of worship served both samurai and commoner devotees, who mingled during ritual services and lectures by eminent monks. Many temples also featured elements of

various sectarian traditions, although each belonged to a particular sect. These characteristics suggest the multiplicity of Buddhist beliefs then current and the changing nature of social interactions between people of different social classes. They also hint at the complexity to be found in the production of early modern Buddhist devotional, didactic, and ritual imagery, which forms the focus of the remainder of part I.

Chapter Four

Depictions of Popular Deities and Spiritual Concerns

BY THE EARLY modern period, Buddhism had developed into a complex and diverse belief system with numerous sects and subsects, each with its own doctrines, sect-specific rituals, and identifiable imagery. Yet the shared concerns of devotees for safety and material success in this world and fears about the unknown afterlife concurrently encouraged a syncretic practice of the faith that crossed sectarian divisions. Following earlier trends, many rites were universally observed, the most popular deities were widely venerated, and teachings espoused by particular sects often came to be incorporated into others. Prolonged peace and more stable social conditions helped fuel a burgeoning growth in the nation's commoner population, especially in cities. For the first time in Japanese history, commoner lay Buddhist practitioners began making and commissioning large numbers of Buddhist images, many of which were quite grand, and became responsible for the construction of monumental temple-building projects. Previously, they lacked the education and affluence to create a substantial body of Buddhist material culture of their own. But a new law decreeing that temples could collect donations, also enacted by the fifth shogun, Tokugawa Tsunayoshi, made this more feasible (Bodart-Bailey 2006, 208–209). This flowering of urban commoner culture as a driving force for the increased production of the arts of the Edo period, both secular and religious, is widely acknowledged.[1]

Although religious syncretism had long been an important facet of Buddhist practice in Japan, it became even more pronounced during the Edo period, in part due to the influence of Tsunayoshi, who encouraged commoners to learn about Confucianism and especially its reverence for ancestors (Bodart-Bailey

2006, 223–224). This resulted in increased emphasis on funerary rites at Buddhist temples and new support for commoner temples by the shogunate and daimyo. Previously, the elites did not much concern themselves with the spiritual needs of the lower classes.

The rapid increase in the production of printed books in the Genroku era by and for commoners also contributed to an increase in syncretic religious practices. The appearance of these books reflects the rise in education levels and literacy among commoners of the time. The first mass printing of woodblock books in the seventeenth century, many about Buddhism, fostered increased devotion to that faith as such books facilitated the spread of information about miraculous deeds performed by deities and their icons located at famous temples. Traveling lay emissaries of temples and mendicant clerics also spread knowledge of their temples and efficacious images, often using pictures as props during sermons.

As commoners became devoted to Buddhism, imagery associated with the faith by and for them came to appear everywhere — scattered about temple grounds or along roadways, in private homes and shops, and on small amulets that devotees carried with them. Private sponsorship of icons and votive plaques erected in public places also proliferated. Some production of Edo-period Buddhist images resulted from great acts of an individual's self-sacrifice over long periods of time; in other cases production was undertaken as a commercial business venture. All these images were created concurrently with the continued production of materials by and for elite worshipers. The wide body of didactic, devotional, and liturgical imagery created in response to the faith's increasingly syncretic beliefs by and for its varied devotees forms the focus of this chapter, which emphasizes imagery of widely worshiped deities and imaginative visualizations of personal prayers and the afterlife.

Newly Popular Trans-Sectarian Deities: Jizō, the Rakan, and the Seven Gods of Good Fortune

Cultlike devotion to particular persona has always been a part of Buddhist worship in Japan. Worshipers self-select personal saviors from among the Buddhist, Shinto, Confucian, and Daoist pantheon, based on personal attraction to legends asserting the effectiveness of these figures' miraculous powers, often as channeled through the medium of renowned images that represented them (as in the case of Naritasan Shinshōji's Fudō Myōō). While many persona popular from earlier centuries, such as Kannon and Fudō, were worshiped separately and remained favorites during the Edo period, devotion to others, particularly the bodhisattva Jizō and the Rakan, which are discussed below, seemed to grow more suddenly at the time, and their popularity remains strong into the pres-

ent. This contrasts sharply with the fleeting devotion accorded to some other figures from the Buddhist pantheon (including various mountain goblins, or *tengu,* already mentioned in connection with Yakuōin atop Mount Takao) that have become known as "faddish deities" (*hayari gami*).[2] Yet among these newly popular, fashionable deities of the Edo period, one group, the Seven Gods of Good Fortune, a powerful new configuration of divine guardians assembled from various faiths, is discussed below because they stand out from the others due to their enduring appeal.

Jizō first entered Japanese Buddhism in conjunction with esoteric Buddhist beliefs in the eighth century. He is depicted modestly, as an ascetic monk rather than a bejeweled, transcendent bodhisattva, which may account for his early enthusiastic reception among laity in Japan. In the Heian period, he became a national protector, but soon individuals began worshiping him for more personal reasons. Sūtras imported from China and apocryphal miracle tales about Jizō intertwined his identity with that of the Ten Kings (who judged the fate of the recently deceased), which begat the belief that Jizō could straddle the worlds of the living and the dead and save souls trapped in hell (Dykstra 1978, 183). He also came to be considered, like Kannon, capable of transporting believers to Amida's Pure Land Paradise (Dykstra 1978, 184–185, 188). Both sutras and miracle tales about Jizō echoed those for Kannon in their descriptions of Jizō's powers as savior, guardian, and healer and his ability to assist with worldly and otherworldly needs; they also presented him, like Kannon, in manifold manifestations (LaFleur 1992, 48–49).

Between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries, both Kannon and Jizō were worshiped through confraternities of dedicated devotees. During the Edo period, noncanonical tales of Jizō's powers multiplied. Woodblock books that disseminated these persuasive stories helped facilitate his worship, and secular travel journals by popular writers enticingly described journeys to Jizō pilgrimage centers (Miyazaki and Williams 2001, 417). Accordingly, worship of Jizō spread among commoners, and from the eighteenth century certain sites grew into popular cult centers. Some highlighted Jizō's power as healer and others his powers of salvation. As savior of young children and fetuses, his image frequently took the form of naively carved stone images or simple piles of stones that symbolized his presence, personalized with offerings of clothing.[3] Devotees left offerings, a practice that continues today (see fig. 10.2). Large, more finely carved statues of Jizō proliferated as well. Because of the expense involved, these images required the efforts of numerous donors for their creation.

A Jōdo monk named Shingan (1647–1706) made one of the most unusual of these large-scale images for Daienji, a temple he headed in Kanazawa, the Maeda daimyo's castle town. Shingan was a well-educated samurai who had learned the traditional arts befitting his status, including painting, in his youth. As a priest,

he put his talent to use producing pictures of Buddhist icons for parishioners in exchange for donations to fund his temple.[4] In this way, he was able to construct a storehouse (*kura*)-style Main Hall and erect within it, in 1700, a giant, 4-meter-tall, brightly painted statue of Jizō that he made himself (plate 6).

The statue honored destitute deceased persons of Kanazawa whose bones Shingan found scattered around the city. He incorporated these bones into the statue, crushing them to a powder and then mixing them with clay to form the statue's face, neck, and hands. His idea of sanctifying fragments of the human body as objects of veneration dates back to the earliest days of Buddhism in India, when the Buddha's remains were considered potent sacred relics that were dispersed soon after his death and deposited in reliquaries such as stupas, pagodas, and small, portable containers.[5] In this case, by joining the bones of deceased persons with the body of an image of a Buddhist deity, Shingan intended to help them achieve salvation. He carved the remainder of the figure in wood and painted the whole surface to appear lifelike. Remarkably, the original colors remain intact. Names of donors appear inscribed on the statue's robes, and the wall surrounding the statue contains 1,333 tiny Buddha statues.

Early Tokugawa rulers had set a precedent for establishing temples and erecting large icons to facilitate salvation of the poor, as at Ekōin in Edo. Shingan's efforts represent initiation of this custom by the clergy. By the late Edo period, devout laity had also become involved in the practice. Yokoyama Take, a commoner from Edo, was responsible for the dedication of a mammoth bronze statue of Jizō atop Mount Kōya as savior of her parents and the approximately ten thousand others who had died in an earthquake and subsequent tsunami that leveled about half of the commoners' section of Edo in 1855 (fig. 4.1). According to a plaque adjacent to the statue, it was consecrated soon after the tragedy in 1860, but the donor continued to solicit donations for thirty more years to pay for the cost of the image. This meant Take was still collecting money for it well into the Meiji period, during the height of Buddhism's persecution early in that era, reflecting the resolute support of the faith by commoners at this time of social transition. Take's statue, named *Otake Jizō* after her, was installed on a small hill overlooking the Women's Worship Hall (Nyōnindō) at the perimeter of Mount Kōya's temple complex, the farthest point into the complex where women in premodern times were permitted. Today the statue serves not only as a memorial to those who died in the Edo earthquake, but also, as the plaque by the statue indicates, as an object of the prayers of people seeking success in studies, a happy marriage, safe childbirth, and the salvation of deceased unborn children.

Some public monuments portraying Jizō were intended for the benefit of the living rather than the dead. Most common are groupings of six statues of Jizō set in a row, symbolizing his ability to enter the six states of existence and transport



4.1. *Otake Jizō* at Mount Kōya, ca. 1860. Cast bronze. Height: approx. 2 m. Photograph by author.

the faithful from a perpetual, torturous existence in the lower, demonic realms to salvation in heaven after death (his association with these six realms is symbolized by the presence of six rings on the monk's staff he always carries). People prayed to these statues for their own and their loved ones' deliverance to the upper realms after they died and also for Jizō to grant their wishes for material benefits in this world. In the city of Edo, commoners likened these six realms to the six major thoroughfares that led into the city. Those who frequented these routes contributed money towards the creation of six bronze statues of Jizō, one each to be placed within the grounds of temples situated at the starting points of the roads. The statues were completed between 1708 and circa 1720. Five of the original six remain. In all, over 75,000 persons contributed to this endeavor. Their names can still be seen engraved on the pedestals and lower portions of the statues[6] (fig. 4.2). The imposing 2-meter tall Jizō at the start of the famed Tōkaidō Highway was completed first in 1708 and sits bareheaded (he lost his hat in a nineteenth-century storm) in the small courtyard of the Shingon temple of Honsenji in Shinagawa Ward.



4.2. *Jizō Bodhisattva* at Honsenji, Tokyo, 1708. Cast bronze. Height: 2 m. Photograph by author.

Rakan (alt Jp. name Arakan; Ch. Luohan; Skt. Arhat), literally "Worthy Ones," are devout monks who gained enlightenment after hearing the teachings of the buddha Shaka in India. In art they appear either as devout ascetic monks or as eccentric old men. Groupings of Sixteen Rakan (Jūroku Rakan) and Five Hundred Rakan (Gohyaku Rakan) and a related assemblage, laity known as the Ten Great Disciples of the Buddha Shaka (Shaka Jūdai Deshi) originated in Indian canonical texts. By the tenth century, Chinese cults had also invented another grouping of eighteen (Jūhachi Rakan).[7]

In China and Japan, Rakan function in the Buddhist pantheon as upholders of the Buddhist Law, preserving the teachings of the Buddha until the reappearance, sometime in the distant future, of the future buddha Miroku. Through their exemplary conduct, they serve as models of morality, and their existence "helps worshippers collapse the temporal distance between the present world and the time and presence of the Buddha" (Levine 2005, 99). Chinese texts describe their predilection for living as recluses in the forests, anonymously socializing with the faithful and dazzling devotees with miraculous deeds their per-

fected state allowed them to perform, such as taming a dragon, flying through the sky, or shooting golden rays from their palms (Murray 1994, 140; Kent 1995, 9–26). These traits led Chinese writers to liken them to Daoist immortals and Confucian sages, which texts described similarly.

The Japanese began portraying Rakan in the eighth century, and by the Heian and Kamakura periods they had gained a cult following among aristocrats and warriors. Yet it was in the Edo era that their devotion, and images of them, increased exponentially in direct proportion to the era's explosive growth in its commoner population and that group's newfound knowledge of Confucianism in the late seventeenth century. Commoners' understanding of the basic tenets of Confucian morality and filial piety led them to regard Rakan as paragons of Confucian-like piety, because the virtuous Rakan closely resembled Confucian sages.

The Japanese created their earliest images of Rakan in connection with representations of episodes from the Lotus Sutra, which featured them prominently (M. Watanabe 2000, 34). The Lotus Sutra describes only the standard collective of five hundred (Watson 1993, 149–150). However, following other Buddhist scriptures, which were conflated with the Lotus Sutra pictorially, many medieval representations of Rakan showed them as a group of sixteen, often with obvious references to this sutra. This grouping remained in favor throughout the Edo period, frequently in conservative environments, such as within second-floor chambers of the main gates (*sanmon*) of Zen-sect temples. One of these gates, at the Rinzai-sect Zen temple of Eigenji in the mountains of Eigenji-chō, Kanzaki-gun, of Shiga Prefecture (fig. 4.3) possesses well-preserved statues dating to 1802, the year the gate was last reconstructed. The temple had been founded in 1361 by courtiers and from its inception had been an important Zen training monastery. Emperor Gomizunoo and his consort Tōfukumon'in financed its revival in the seventeenth century, encouraging other elite patrons of Buddhism, and even the Ōbaku patriarch Ingen, to visit there. Although no documents survive that identify the makers, their deeply carved, well-designed appearance indicates that they were made at an elite Kyoto workshop.

Although the origin of the custom of placing sixteen Rakan in Zen temple gateways remains obscure, it was compulsory by the fifteenth century, perhaps in response to an order from a shogun who based his demand on a Chinese precedent for placing Rakan, either in sets of sixteen or eighteen, in temple gates to protect the precincts (De Visser 1923, 162; Faure 1991, 267; and 1996, 90). According to *Zen Notes on Objects in the World* (*Zenrin shōkisen*) of 1741, an influential manual of Zen-sect practices by Mujaku Dōchū (1653–1745), a powerful Rinzai abbot, by then all main gates at Rinzai temples contained Rakan, often along with a central image of a transcendent, crowned Shaka Buddha (Hōkan Shaka) flanked by two devout followers who had lived in India during



4.3. *Shaka, Zenzai Dōji, Gakkai Chōja, and the Sixteen Rakan,* inside the second-story chamber of the Main Gate (Sanmon) at Eigenji, Shiga Prefecture, 1802. Wood with polychrome, gilt, and inset crystal eyes. Height of individual Rakan: approx. 70 cm. Photograph by author.

his lifetime, Gakkai Chōja (Skt. Somachattra) and the child bodhisattva Zenzai Dōji (Skt. Sudhana), as at the Eigenji gate.[8] These latter figures must have been selected to officiate over the assembly of Rakan alongside Shaka because they, like the Rakan themselves, exemplify the Zen path to enlightenment attainable by lay practitioners with the aid of noble teachers.

During the Muromachi period, Chinese Linxi-sect Chan monks who came to Japan and their Japanese Rinzai-sect followers also helped expand appreciation in Japan for Rakan in general and the assemblage of the Five Hundred Rakan in particular. As already mentioned in chapter 2, one early emigrant Chinese Chan monk had sculpted a stone set at a temple named Rakanji in Kyushu. Meanwhile, in Kyoto, where the Zen sect headquarters were located, Ikkyū Sōjun (1394–1481), the eccentric and influential abbot of the Rinzai Zen temple of Daitokuji, wrote poems about the Five Hundred Rakan. Later, Edo-period popular stories about Ikkyū abounded, some of which featured comments attributed to him on the Five Hundred Rakan, leading to their increased popularization at that time.[9] Ikkyū's temple, Daitokuji, had also come into the possession of an important set of Chinese paintings of the group (Levine 2005, 287–296). Another powerful Kyoto Rinzai temple, Tōfukuji, set up an important workshop to copy these and other imported Chinese Buddhist paintings under the direction of the monk-painter Minchō (1352–1431). As the Five Hundred Rakan gained popularity in Japan, temples began to erect special halls for their veneration.

By the late seventeenth century, following popular Chinese tales, it was widely believed that Rakan dwelt anonymously among the living and resembled actual people. The fashionable author Iharu Saikaku helped to spread these myths in a story he published in 1686, *Life of an Amorous Woman* (*Kōshoku ichidai onna*).[10] It culminated with a visit by the courtesan-heroine, in her old age, to the Five Hundred Rakan Hall at the Kyoto Tendai temple of Daiunji. Peering closely at each Rakan statue, she remarked with astonishment that "every single one reminded me of some man with whom in the past I had been intimate" (Iharu 1963, 206). The novel closes with her confessing her sins and begging for salvation before the images, praying that though she lived an impure life, her heart might be pure enough for her to attain salvation after death (Iharu 1963, 208).

Such fascination with Rakan led to the spread of their devotional cult among commoners. That it emerged at the same time the Ōbaku monks emigrated to Japan was not mere coincidence. The Japanese highly respected the dignified, learned Ōbaku monks, whom they admired for their moral fortitude in courageously coming to a foreign land because of their political convictions. They considered the Ōbaku monks living embodiments of the Chinese sages and immortals they read about in Confucian and Daoist texts. Ōbaku monks populated their temples with sculptural and painted images of Rakan, who resembled and possessed qualities similar to these legendary Chinese figures.

The prevalence of Rakan imagery in Ōbaku temples reflected the religious tenor of the late Ming period, in which both Buddhism and Confucianism had developed into syncretic ideologies with shared value systems holding high regard for ethical behavior. Unstable social conditions and the changing nature of Buddhist devotees in late Ming China, dominated by a mushrooming of the ranks of lay Buddhist supporters of the gentry class, may account for this fascination with them.[11] These new Buddhist followers seem to have encouraged portrayals of heroic individuals like Rakan rather than transcendent deities. Parallel social developments in Japan led to similar tendencies in religious practices there as well.

In Japan, two famous sets of sculptures of Rakan in Ōbaku temples encouraged replication of their imagery there and identification of the cult with the Ōbaku lineage. The first set, wooden carvings of Eighteen Rakan prominently installed along two raised platforms on either side of and perpendicular to the main altar within Manpukuji's Main Hall, were carved by a Chinese emigrant sculptor, Han Dōsei (Ch. Fan Daosheng, 1635–1670), who died tragically young, and were dedicated in 1664 (figs. 4.4, 4.5).[12] His finely carved figures exude an air of nervous tension unknown in prior Japanese sculpture.

The second sculptured set that helped popularize Rakan in Japan was the group of five hundred that Shōun Genkei carved for Gohyaku Rakanji in Edo



4.4. Han Dōsei (Ch. Fan Daosheng, 1635–1670). Group of Rakan from a set of eighteen, installed in the Main Hall (Daiyūhōden) at Manpukuji, Uji, 1664. Wood with polychrome and gold. Height of each: approx. 135 cm.



4.5. Han Dōsei (Ch. Fan Daosheng, 1635–1670). The *Rakan Subinda* from a set of eighteen, installed in the Main Hall (Daiyūhōden) at Manpukuji, Uji, 1664. Wood with polychrome and gold, height 132.3 cm.

(see fig. 2.7). Stylistically, his figures are indebted to the Manpukuji set (A. Satō 1991, 190). Genkei's sculptures captivated the public because of his dedication to such a large project and because of the arresting intensity of his images, which, like Saikaku's popular story, were said to resemble real people. Because Shōun's statues were created for a temple in the prosperous, trendsetting metropolis of Edo, soon after completion they became the most famous group and helped propel Rakan to new heights of popularity, which continues to the present.

Most of these sets were not carved in wood, as at Gohyaku Rakanji, but in stone and placed in temple courtyards, although one emulated the fourteenth-century Kyushu cave temple of Rakanji and scattered stone statues of Rakan in mountainside grottos.[13] Similar in conception to stone Jizō images, they are characterized by a charming naiveté that instantly endears them to viewers. Unlike the many stone Jizō statues, however, Rakan appear more individualized. The placement of these statues outdoors marks an important turning point in the practice of Buddhism in Japan. Previously, for the most part, individuals prayed before statues located inside worship halls, but in the eighteenth century, offering prayers to statues located in open-air temple courtyards grew popular. This development gradually led to changes in the layouts of temple compounds that, for the first time, needed to accommodate large numbers of worshipers as well as statuary.

One of the earliest of these stone sets is located in the small temple courtyard at the Tendai temple of Daienji in the Meguro District of Edo, where five hundred stone Rakan surround a statue of Shaka (fig. 4.6). The group was completed during the Tenmei era (1781–1789) by anonymous carvers, most likely the temple's monks, as penance for the temple's accidental negligence in causing one of Edo's most horrific disasters, a fire in 1772 that started at the temple and spread to engulf and destroy one-third of the city and kill about four thousand of its inhabitants (Kuno 1994, 230). Most of these statues are high-relief stele, all neatly aligned in evenly tiered rows, interspersed occasionally with randomly placed, large, free-standing figures. On careful scrutiny each possesses a distinct, amiable countenance.

Similar in sentiment but grander in scale, befitting the status of the temple at which they reside, are five hundred free-standing stone Rakan at Kitain, Kawagoe, the Tokugawa family temple once overseen by Tenkai (fig. 4.7). In the mid-eighteenth century, it had become the mortuary temple for the Matsudaira daimyo clan. A priest there named Shijō carved these images as a personal act of devotion over a forty-three-year period, between 1782 and 1825. The set actually includes approximately 540 images: Shaka, his attendant bodhisattvas Fugen and Monju, the Ten Great Disciples of Shaka, Sixteen Rakan, Five Hundred Rakan, the buddha Amida, Jizō, and a few other figures. Some Rakan are seated, others standing; some are conceived in groupings and carved from a single



4.6. *Shaka and the Five Hundred Rakan* at Daienji, Tokyo, Edo period, Tenmei era (1781–1789). Stone. Height of Shaka: 144.5 cm; height of Rakan: 30.5 to 33.2 cm. Photograph by author.

stone, but all are unique and, like the example from the set illustrated in figure 4.7, are among the most instantly engaging of the innumerable stone statues of this type that survive in Japan (Nihon Sekibutsu Kyōkai 1999, 116).

Amateur and professional painters of both elite and commoner status also created distinctive interpretations of the Five Hundred Rakan.[14] One of the most celebrated sets is by Kano Kazunobu (alt. Isshin, 1816–1863), a minor Kano school painter from Edo. He completed his set late in his life, between 1854 and 1863, and they are considered his masterpiece.[15] They consist of one hundred scrolls with five Rakan per scroll. He painted them for Zōjōji, the Tokugawa-sponsored Jōdo sect headquarters in Edo. Typical of high-ranking professional painters, he must have followed an older model for the compositions, but he created a visually disturbing, original interpretation of the subject through his seamless melding of diverse artistic traditions, as evident in the twenty-third painting from the set, depicted in plate 7. It features Rakan saving sinners from one of the Buddhist hells, a subject found in earlier Chinese and Japanese versions of Five Hundred Rakan pictures, although the earlier examples did not place as much emphasis on the graphic portrayal of the sinners.[16] Kazunobu created a picture more powerful than any sermon, a wholly believable narrative carefully delineated in chilling detail. At left, naked people plunge headfirst into the Buddhist hell of ice, where a ghoul stabs them with a pitchfork. As a Rakan melts the ice from an orb emitting a laser-like heat ray, the ice catches fire and



4.7. Priest Shijō (active late eighteenth to early nineteenth century). Rakan from a set of five hundred at Kitain, Kawagoe, Saitama Prefecture; set sculpted between 1782 and 1825. Stone. Height of individual Rakan: between 60 and 70 cm, exclusive of stone bases of about 1 meter in height. Photograph by author.

lost souls emerge bleeding into an icy pool of water. From there, they scramble up the cavern's walls to grasp a scepter by which another Rakan and his helper will pull them to salvation.

As a result of the newfound popularity of the Five Hundred Rakan theme, even some traditional Rinzai-sect temples abandoned the requirement of installing the Sixteen Rakan in their gates and placed images there of the five hundred instead (fig. 4.8). One of the most compelling representations of these is the second-floor gate of the Rinzai temple Kenchōji in Kamakura. Takahashi Hōun (1824?/1810–1850/1858?),[17] a professional Buddhist sculptor of Edo who also worked as a netsuke carver, together with his disciple, Takamura Tōun (1826–1879), carved in wood the prototype for the set. A professional bronze caster completed the project using molds prepared by the sculptors between 1830 and 1856.[18] Funding came from a private donor, Iseya Kakichirō, a wealthy rice trader from Edo. Hōun's aptitude for netsuke carving is clearly evident in these figures, which are small (approximately 30 centimeters each) by Buddhist sculpture standards, and, like netsuke, each figure possesses great individuality. They serve as precursors of both the naturalistic-style crafts in vogue throughout the Meiji period (Tokyo Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan 2003b, 239) and the large-scale sculptures by artists then striving to transform Buddhist sculpture carving



4.8. Takahashi Hōun (1824?/1810–1850/1858?) and Takamura Tōun (1826–1879). In situ view of the statues *Shaka and the Five Hundred Rakan* inside the second-story chamber of the Main Gate (Sanmon) at Kenchōji, Kamakura, 1830–1856. Cast bronze. Height of each Rakan: approx. 30 cm. Photograph courtesy of the Nihon Keizai Shinbun.

into a fine art. In fact, Takamura Tōun's pupil, Takamura Kōun (discussed in chaps. 7 and 8), helped lead this transition.

The Seven Gods of Good Fortune (Jp. Shichifukujin) are undoubtedly the most familiar group of deities in Japanese popular religion today, made up of an eclectic mix of figures from Buddhism, Shinto folklore, and popular Chinese Daoism.[19] Buddhist figures in the group include Benzaiten, the goddess of love and music, who carries a zither; Bishamonten, the Buddhist guardian of the north and protector against enemies and disasters, who wears a suit of armor and carries a small pagoda; Daikokuten, a god of prosperity who sits atop bales of rice and grasps a mallet for beating out riches (Daikokuten is also sometimes considered an incarnation of a Shinto deity and as such functions as a household kitchen god); and Hotei, a jolly, fat, legendary Zen monk considered also an incarnation of the future buddha Miroku, who personifies kindness and good fortune and carries a bag of riches. The lone Shinto deity in the group is Ebisu, a god of good fortune generally and specifically a guardian of fishermen and granter of prosperity to merchants. He clutches a fishing pole and large sea

bream, a good-luck emblem. Gods of Chinese Daoist origin are Fukurokuju, a grantor of longevity, who appears as an old man with an elongated, bald head holding a walking staff and is sometimes accompanied by cranes and tortoises, which are Daoist symbols of longevity; and Jurōjin, also a god of longevity and similarly portrayed as an old man with a high, bare head, though, unlike Fukurokuju, he is short of stature and sometimes accompanied by a deer. Some folk beliefs identify these two gods as different incarnations of the same deity, so occasionally Jurōjin or Fukurokuju's position is filled by another deity, Kichijōten (Skt. Śrīmahādevī), the Buddhist sister-deity to Benzaiten, and who bestows beauty, good fortune, and wealth.

Although each possesses separate identities and diverse origins, belief in their ability to bestow good fortune unites them. The earliest references to some abbreviated assemblage of two, three, or even five of these deities date to late fifteenth-century texts about popular narrative tales (*otogi zōshi*) and comic Nō plays (*kyōgen*) and also mention lost paintings of them.[20] Probably only in the second half of the seventeenth century did the conception of a set of seven deities of good fortune coalesce. But even then, the set had not become universally standardized.

In 1690, Gizan (1648–1717), a Jōdo-sect monk from Kyoto, well respected as a scholar of Buddhist history, published the first edition of the authoritative guide to Buddhist deities and implements, *Illustrated Compendium of Buddhist Images* (*Butsuzō zui*).[21] Ever since its publication, *Butsuzō zui* has served as an authority for aspiring Buddhist painters, sculptors, craftsmakers, and the lay public who needed to know the correct iconography and appearance of the pantheon of Buddhist deities, sect patriarchs, and Buddhist accoutrements. Significantly, this first edition does not include the familiar grouping of the Seven Gods of Good Fortune, but the term is used as a page title that lists the seven as Benzaiten, Bishamonten, Daikoku, Fukurokuju, Hotei, Ebisu, and Shōjō (fig. 4.9). On that page, only Fukurokuju, Hotei, Ebisu, and the nonstandard member of the group, Shōjō, a sea-dwelling, red-haired, and perennially jovial monkey-faced figure from Japanese mythology, are pictured.[22] Bishamonten, Benzaiten, and six different forms of Daikokuten are found in the preceding pages of the book, and Jūrōjin is found not at all. Yet in the book's revised edition, the *Enlarged Edition Encompassing Various Sects of the Illustrated Compendium of Buddhist Images* (*Zōho shoshū butsuzō zui*), published in 1783, the new illustrator, Tosa Hidenobu (alt. Kino Shūshin; active late eighteenth century), includes a single illustration showing the codified set of seven (fig. 4.10).[23] The presence of the Seven Gods in the revised edition indicates that by 1783 the assemblage had become part of mainstream Buddhism.

While the specific membership in the group originated in Japan, the personification of good fortune has its origins in Chinese folk religion. Since the Tang



4.9. Text by Gizan (1648–1717); illustrations by an unidentified artist. *Fukurokuju, Ebisu, Hotei, and Other Minor Buddhist Deities,* from vol. 2 of the *Illustrated Compendium of Buddhist Images* (*Butsuzō zui*), 1690. Single page from a four-volume woodblock-printed book in ink on paper, 19 × 14.2 cm. Tokyo Metropolitan Central Library.



4.10. Tosa Hidenobu (alt. Kino Shūshin; active late eighteenth century). *The Seven Gods of Good Fortune,* from vol. 4 of the *Enlarged Edition Encompassing Various Sects of the Illustrated Compendium of Buddhist Images* (*Zōho shoshū butsuzō zui*). Meiji-period (1868–1912) reprint (published in Tokyo) of the standard 1783 edition. University of Kansas Library. Photograph by author.

dynasty, paper pictures decorated with propitious imagery, both auspicious symbols and gods, regularly adorned the walls and doorways of homes. The Japanese appropriated Jurōjin and Fukurokuju directly from this Chinese folk tradition. Because of the fragile nature of these prints and the way some were used (burned after rituals ended), most surviving examples date to no earlier than the seventeenth century, when woodblock printing became widespread. We know that the Japanese had access to these New Year's pictures because one group, now in the British Museum, had been purchased there around 1692 by the German physician Engelbert Kaempfer (1651–1716).[24]

Why seven gods? Some twentieth-century sources credit the priest Tenkai, Ieyasu's adviser, with concocting the grouping for the edification of the third shogun, Tokugawa Iemitsu. These sources explain that Tenkai identified the individual gods with seven virtues (longevity, fortune, popularity, candor, amiability, dignity, and magnanimity) that kings impart to their subjects if they follow the teachings of the Sutra of the Benevolent Kings (Ninnō kyō). However, Tenkai's known writings and Rinnōji temple records make no mention of the Seven Gods.[25] Other scholars suggest that the numerical grouping of seven auspicious deities may have been conceived earlier, during the late Muromachi period, as an adaptation of a Chinese literati painting theme showing an assembly of seven virtuous and illustrious recluses known as the *Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove* (Kida 1976, 81–83). By Tenkai's day, most of the deities in the group had become associated with specific virtues, but representations of them together probably did not take place until well after his death in 1643.

Scholars cannot definitively state which Japanese artist created the first representation of the Seven Gods, although they agree that many from the group were popular in the repertoire of artists beginning from the sixteenth century, especially among those trained in Kano school ateliers.[26] Surviving pictorial imagery of the Seven Gods together dates only from the late seventeenth century, first in the repertoire of artists attached to the shogunate and court. An example by Kano Yasunobu is considered the earliest extant pictorial example of the theme, though his brother Tan'yū probably portrayed them together first (fig. 4.11).[27] The official rank used by Yasunobu in his signature (Hōgen) helps date the painting to between 1662, when Yasunobu received this honorary title, and his death in 1685 (Yasumura 1990, 64). The artist has placed the figures in an outdoor setting, beneath a pine tree, dressed in the attire of the upper classes and engaged in a lively drinking party in which participants play musical instruments, dance, and sing. The composition so resembles that used by academic Ming dynasty painters in their portrayal of the Eight Daoist Immortals that such pictures, known to have been imported to Japan in the Edo period, must be considered their prototype.[28] Such paintings preceded more humorous representations of these deities in imagery for commoners. Other disciples of Tan'yū



4.11. Kano Yasunobu (1613–1685). *The Seven Gods of Good Fortune.* Hanging scroll; ink and colors on silk, 139 × 97.4 cm. The University Art Museum, Tokyo National University of Fine Arts and Music.



4.12. Andō Hiroshige (1797–1858). *The Seven Gods of Good Fortune in Their Treasure Ship.* Two vertically connected *ōban*-format woodblock prints; ink and colors on paper, approx. 76 × 25 cm. Kanagawa Prefectural History Museum.

painted this Seven Gods theme as well, in similar compositions, sometimes surrounded by adoring Chinese children.[29]

By the eighteenth century, urban merchants had developed a special fondness for these deities, who promised assistance with their ambitions. Ukiyoe artists, patronized by these merchants, frequently represented the Seven Gods in both paintings and prints, often sailing into port aboard a "treasure ship" with a dragon prow and billowing sail, a descendant of a boat that carried felicitous deities as described in the Muromachi period (fig. 4.12). One example by Andō Hiroshige (1797–1858) combines two single-sheet prints vertically in a single composition. His version, by the way, includes Kichijōten and omits Fukurokujin, as was sometimes the case. People hung these pictures on pillars or walls



4.13. Hakuin Ekaku (1685–1768). *The Seven Gods of Good Fortune*. Hanging scroll; ink and colors on paper, 57.8 × 89.4 cm. The Gitter-Yelen Collection, New Orleans.

in their homes or shops, especially during the New Year's season as talismans, foci of their prayers for good fortune in the year to come.[30] The Seven Gods of Good Fortune, either together in smaller groupings or singly, also appeared with great frequency among subjects represented in netsuke, small toggles carried by urban middle-class townsmen, for whom they became symbols of status and wealth.

The Zen master Hakuin Ekaku (1685–1768), the most influential Rinzai Zen teacher of the Edo period and also renowned as a painter and calligrapher, frequently painted the Seven Gods of Good Fortune (fig. 4.13). His Zen teachings incorporated moral values associated with Confucianism using parables created with familiar imagery such as this (he is discussed further in chapter 6). Here, he took artistic license and modified the familiar group of the Seven Gods, replacing Bishamonten with Shōki (Ch. Zhong Kui), a mythical Chinese demon queller and arbiter of Buddhist hells. As here, Shōki is always shown as an imposing, bearded figure wearing the robes of a Chinese scholar official. Hakuin probably thought to include Shōki in the group because by then he had also come to be considered a household protector, and people hung pictures of him in homes, especially during the Boys' Day festival season in the fifth month.[31] The painting's Confucian-toned inscription counsels that piety to one's lord and parents will bring the favors of the Seven Gods (Kobayashi et al. 2002, 290, pl. 124).

Graphic Images of the Afterlife

The appearance of Shōki in Hakuin's painting underscores the syncretic nature of various Edo-period religious beliefs, here linking these lucky gods with the most pervasive of all Buddhist metaphysical conceptions, belief in rebirth after death in one of Ten Worlds (Jikkai) that constitute the entirety of the Buddhist universe. These include the six realms (*rokudō*) of heaven, humankind, malicious demi-gods (*ashura*), animals, hungry ghosts, and hells. Pious individuals can also transcend rebirth in the five realms below heaven and enter four other transcendental worlds appropriate to their particular state of devoutness: as Rakan, as self-enlightened buddhas who live in seclusion (Skt. *pratyekabuddhas*; Jp. *byakushibutsu*), as bodhisattvas, and as fully realized buddhas. People are reborn into one of these worlds depending upon their accrual of spiritual merit in past and present lives, with the amount of merit allotted determined by the sincerity of their faith and adherence to the Buddhist precepts and by memorial rites performed on their behalf after they die.

Imagery of these worlds is among the most prevalent in all of Buddhist iconography, and Edo representations of it abounded. Its increasing specificity encapsulated and recorded in visual form the social turmoil that escalated as the era progressed. Clerics trained as artists and lay painting specialists created both paintings and woodblock prints of these subjects for both commoner and elite devotees of Buddhism, with specific imagery and artistic styles varying with the different sectarian traditions, the uses for which the images were intended, and the aesthetic preferences of particular audiences.[32] Although the most revered deities within the Buddhist pantheon differed from sect to sect, by the Edo period, because of the overwhelming success of the Pure Land creeds in attracting followers, their compelling visualization of heaven had come to exert great influence over the way other sects conceived and portrayed the afterlife.[33]

One of the most popular types of Ten Worlds pictures is known as the Kumano Heart Visualization and Ten Worlds Mandala (Kumano kanjin jikkai mandala); a representative example is illustrated in plate 8. The Kumano Ten Worlds pictures portray a sacred diagram of the Buddhist universe as described in the Flower Garland Sutra (Skt. Avatamsaka; Ch. Huayen; Jp. Kegon), influenced by Pure Land beliefs, that describes the bodhisattvas in great detail (Kaminishi 2006, 139–140). It seems to have been devised in the late sixteenth century for use by nuns, mainly from the Kumano region, who are generally described as "Kumano *bikuni*." They used these pictures during painting recitations (*etoki*) about the joys and sorrows of the Buddhist universe that they gave to women of all classes in society as they traveled the country, proselytizing and fundraising for their home institution.[34] The painting illustrated in plate 8 forms a mate with a temple and shrine mandala that shows the sacred precincts of the

Nachi Waterfall, one of the three Kumano shrines that constitute the Shinto-Buddhist religious complex from which most of these nuns came.[35] Nuns showed their audiences the Nachi Falls painting to help them visualize making a pilgrimage to this distant place that welcomed women, unlike some other Buddhist mountain complexes (chief among them Mount Kōya), where they would have been forbidden due to their impure state (Kaminishi 2006, 161–162).

Together, these pictures vividly illustrate the complex interweaving of Buddhist-Shinto (*honji suijaku*) beliefs in premodern Japan prior to the forced separation of Buddhism and Shinto in the Meiji period. Specifically, they show the hybrid belief system that developed in the Kumano Mountains of southern Wakayama Prefecture, a site holy to the syncretic ascetics known as *yamabushi* and today designated a UNESCO World Heritage Site (Moerman 2005). As early as the tenth century, Buddhist temples and nunneries began to be established here to offer the protection of that powerful faith to the Shinto deities of these mountains.

These paintings lack signatures, and few records exist that describe their makers, but it appears that the nuns painted these images themselves.[36] The style is charming but far from simplistic, with the complex iconography carefully represented. Stylistically they relate to temple and shrine mandalas (see plate 2). Like those pictures, these feature the sun and moon in the upper corners and figures, landscape elements, and buildings defined with flat, brightly colored, outlined forms. But they also feature a unique composition, dominated by a half circle with a person moving through time from birth to old age beneath it. This unusual motif has suggested to the scholar Ikumi Kaminishi a link with pictures of Christian themes that represent the "Ages of Man," imported into Japan beginning in the late sixteenth century (Kaminishi 2006, 146–155).

The Kumano Heart Visualization Mandalas depict the various realms of existence all clearly distinguished by the presence of Shinto torii gateways. The buddha Amida and a small retinue in the center of the picture emerge from heaven to save the living. Directly below this group floats the Chinese character for heart, a symbol of Amida's compassion, elements common to other types of Ten World Mandala pictures.[37] Below that, monks surround an altar laden with sacred offerings. On either side of this altar, the half circle, within the frame of two Shinto torii gateways, portrays a person following the wheel of life mentioned above, from birth (on the right) to old age. Underneath this, the picture details the various worlds below humankind, emphasizing sorrows and tortures in hells specially designated for women and children and prominently featuring the bodhisattva Kannon in the esoteric guise of Nyōirin Kannon, and Jizō traveling there to save these poor souls.[38] Since Jizō is one of the few deities who could traverse these six realms in order to save all sentient beings, the Kumano Ten Worlds pictures feature him performing beneficent acts in the various realms.

Among the many scenes in these mandalas familiar to female devotees were the red waters of the blood-pool hell in the lower right corner, described in the Blood Pool Sutra (Ketsubonkyō), which expounded on the doctrine of salvation for women, recitation of which could counter the effects of women's polluting menstrual blood. Women who have been saved sit serenely atop lotus leaves that float above the blood pool, within which others flounder. Because of the power of this religious message and its imagery, other types of didactic paintings for women featured these blood pools, and certain places in Japan, where red-colored hot springs percolated, attracted large numbers of women pilgrims.[39]

Another type of afterlife picture eschewed depiction of salvation and focused exclusively on the terrifying realm of the Ten Kings populated by the newly dead and various demons. According to Chinese-invented sutras of the ninth and tenth centuries, this realm was divided into ten levels, each presided over by a different king to whom the living performed funerary rites on set occasions for three years after a loved one's death (Weidner 1994, 277). The Ten Kings pronounced judgment over the eventual disposition of the souls of the dead, either sentencing them to perpetual suffering in one of the hells or to eternal salvation. In Japan, various sects performed the Ten Kings rituals, during which pictures of the Ten Kings and the Six Realms would be displayed.[40] Rites were also made before statues of the Ten Kings in halls dedicated to them, such as at Hōnenji in Takamatsu (see fig. 2.10). Temples would also display paintings of these kings during sermons, especially during New Year's rituals, and during the annual summer Festival for the Dead (Obon).

Japanese artists created the first pictorial representations of the Ten Kings and detailed, graphic imagery of the afterlife associated with them during the late twelfth century, based on imported Chinese models. They quickly naturalized these models, including recognizably Japanese people and scenery, to make the frightening scenes more lifelike and inspirational to their audience. In the Edo period, in accordance with prevailing artistic traditions, artists rendered these scenes with greater graphic detail than ever before. Generally, Japanese paintings depicting the Ten Kings of Hell portrayed each king separately on a single scroll or featured the supreme king, Enma, surrounded by *oni* (goblins) carrying out his evil whims. Although pictures of the Ten Kings are often associated with commoner beliefs in the Edo period, pictorial imagery indicates that the theme remained popular among all citizens.[41] Prominent artists in the employ of the wealthy and elite also created many versions of this subject, including *Scenes from Hell* by Kano Tōhaku (1772–1821), the fifth-generation head of an important Edo-based Kano school atelier, Surugadai (plate 9). *Oni* glare out at the viewer as they go about their evil deeds, while victims and monks wail in vain.

Oni, Shōki's evil nemeses, include a variety of demons, with some originat-

ing in Shinto myths and others deriving from noncanonical Buddhist legends. They possess supernatural attributes: horns, fangs, or a ferocious expression and sometimes clawed hands and feet (Wolfgram 1985). Buddhist *oni* originally served Enma, the chief of the Kings of Hell, as creatures who carried out his harsh judgments. By the Edo period, *oni* were also portrayed humorously, tormenting Shōki or usurping his job. Artists created such heterodox imagery of iconic Buddhist subjects in response to the Edo-period public's preferences for drama, humor, and satire in art. Concurrently, the identities of the various *oni* merged and the creature also became known as a protective deity.[42] As a guardian, *oni* were one type among many popular Buddhist subjects featured on imagery that devotees used to entreat Buddhist deities to answer their prayers.

Devotional Imagery to Activate Divine Assistance

Edo-period Buddhist followers often beseeched deities that they believed could help them overcome potentially difficult or life-threatening events through ritual acts that activated the deities' spiritual powers. Sometimes they deposited offerings at temples associated with these deities or touched or augmented sacred images. They also displayed or carried talismans imprinted with images of deities as their surrogates.

One widely practiced devotional act featuring imagery, which persists today, is the dedication to both Shinto shrines and Buddhist temples of *ema* (lit. "painted horses"), wooden votive tablets that often contain inscribed messages to the resident deity of the shrine or temple at which the *ema* was deposited.[43] The word *ema* is derived from the earliest of these tablets, which were painted with designs of horses, divine beasts ridden by the gods. Because of this association they came to be considered messengers between the human and divine realm. The earliest *ema* date to the eighth century. By the Edo period, *ema* were decorated with painted, appliqué, or low-relief sculpture of a wide range of subjects, including historical figures, deities, narrative tales, portraits of Kabuki actors, famous places, ships, and even particular body parts (such as breasts, which women offered to assure a plentiful supply of milk for breastfeeding their babies). Inscriptions on *ema* are personal, ranging from wishes for safety during travel, recovery from illness, or safe childbirth to thanks for the deity's intervention in averting death and disaster.

Few *ema* predating the Edo period survive because they often incur damage from exposure to the elements. The traditional location for depositing them has always been outside, under the roof of an open-air Votive Tablet Hall (see fig. 3.10) or attached to exterior walls of buildings, fenceposts, or tree branches. By the Edo period, donations of *ema* to religious institutions had become an established custom that not only demonstrated devoutness, but also helped to

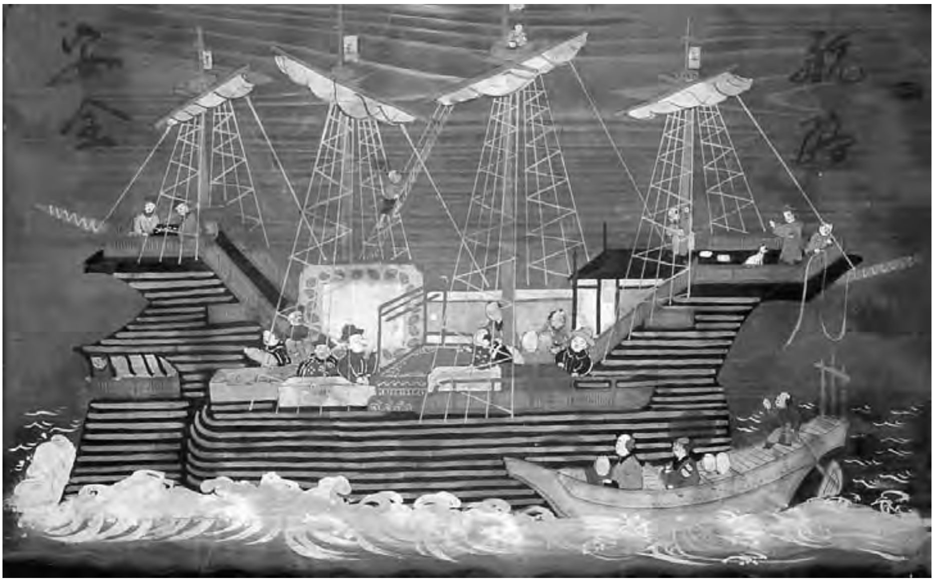


4.14. Utagawa Kuniyoshi (1797–1861). *Fire Brigade*, 1833. Votive tablet (*ema*). Painted wood, 143 × 250 cm. Reikōkan, Naritasan Shinshōji, Narita, Chiba Prefecture.

elevate the donor's status among peers. Consequently, rich merchants, actors, courtesans, warriors, and even groups of commoner coworkers pooling their money donated *ema* to temples and shrines, sometimes commissioning famous artists to create them.

Many popular pilgrimage sites and prosperous temples with famous resident icons, such as Zenkōji and Naritasan Shinshōji, have accumulated large collections of these materials. One large *ema* owned by Naritasan Shinshōji by a famous ukiyoe print designer, Utagawa Kuniyoshi, depicts an Edo fire brigade in great detail (fig. 4.14). A group of firefighters dedicated it to the temple in 1833 as a prayer for their physical safety during the perils of their vocation. Individual commoners of more humble means generally offered smaller size *ema* created by anonymous makers at specialized workshops or sometimes decorated by their own hands. One anonymous, undated *ema* by workshop professionals, probably dating from the Meiji period, represents Japanese traders in a small boat greeting the arrival of a European trading ship. They probably offered it to the gods as a plea for safe interaction with foreign traders (fig. 4.15).

Sometimes worshipers felt that touching or depositing an offering at an icon was most effective, which led to certain icons becoming associated with specific ritual practices. The most famous statues of this type represent Jizō, adorned with bibs and caps as memorials to deceased children. But Jizō also has long been regarded as one who rescues possessions as well, and in that role as the String-Bound (Shibarare) Jizō, since the Edo period devotees have been tying strings around the body of certain statues to attract the deity's attention. One of the most famous of these, completely encased by strings, resides at the Edo Sōtō Zen-sect temple of Rinsenji (fig. 4.16). The statue had been erected in 1602



4.15. *European Sailing Ship,* nineteenth century. Votive tablet (*ema*). Painted wood, 54.8 × 76 cm. Collection of Lynn S. Gibor, USA. Photograph by author.

by a samurai to memorialize and pray for the repose of the souls of his parents, and not until after his death did local residents begin tying strings around it to beg for its help in finding their lost items. Legend about its success engendered its fame, so the practice has lived on.

Another Sōtō temple in Edo where interactive devotional acts that began in the Edo period persist is Kōganji, famous as a center for faith healing, a benefit that Sōtō particularly promoted to attract followers. Kōganji became associated with faith healing soon after the temple's founding in 1596 (its present location dates to 1892), and sustained belief in the curative powers of its resident icons perpetuates its popularity into the present. Long lines of people regularly wait to wash a stone statue of Kannon in its courtyard (fig. 4.17). A parishioner dedicated the statue soon after the 1657 Meireki-era fire in memory of his wife, who died in that conflagration. Legends relate that devotees who wiped it with their hands or a cloth or poured water on it noticed that if they touched the specific location on the statue that corresponded to a point on their own body that was injured or the cause of an illness, they would miraculously recover. As a result, the statue acquired the nickname "Kannon for Washing" (Arai Kannon). After four centuries, the statue's features had been rubbed away, so with funds from a devotee, the temple commissioned a contemporary stone carver to replicate the image. They then substituted the newly made one for the original, which they consecrated with an eye-opening ceremony in 1999, and now keep the original secreted away (Kuruma 2000, 32). This is much like the practice of making rep-



4.16. *String-Bound (Shibarare) Jizō* at Rinsenji, Tokyo, 1602. Stone wrapped with strings. Height: 195 cm. Photograph by author.

licas for secret statues, such as Zenkōji's Kannon, which still retain the power of the original they reproduce.

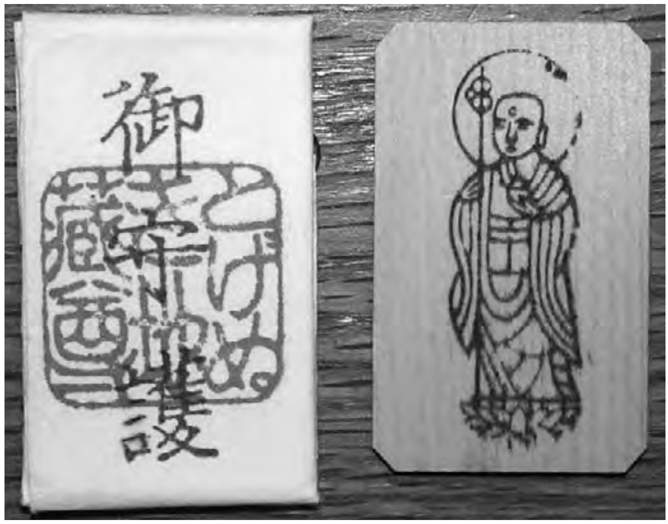
Kōganji is equally famous for the curative powers of its central, secret icon, representing Jizō in his guise as prolonger of life (Enmei Jizō). Like many temples, Kōganji raised money by selling talismans imprinted with the image of its icon, which are still sold by the temple today (fig. 4.18). Ever since the Heian period, devout Japanese Buddhists had followed directives in Buddhist texts to replicate sacred images on talismans. By the mid-seventeenth century the potency of talismans was so widely accepted that they even influenced the appearance of paper currency circulated by secular authorities, for whom association with divine powers assured their money's acceptance (Thomsen 2002, 93). The miraculous abilities of Kōganji's Jizō, through its talisman, are well documented in Edo-period texts. The earliest record, from 1716, describes an account of a woman who ingested a needle while sewing and was inexplicably cured by eating a Jizō talisman. Hence the image at Kōganji came to be known popularly as Splinter-Removing Jizō (Togenuki Jizō).[44] Priests at the temple created these talismans using woodblock prints that, because of their effectiveness, came to be copied and distributed widely, sometimes by other sects.



4.17. Yatsuyanagi Naoki (active late twentieth century). Stone image of the bodhisattva Kannon at Kōganji, Tokyo, replica by Yatsuyanagi completed in 1999, a copy of the original statue of ca. 1657. Stone. Height: ca. 120 cm. Photograph by author.

Kōganji is but one of many temples that sold talismans for both the benefit of the devotee and its own financial gain. Small, independent shops near popular religious spots also reaped the rewards of their proximity to a holy place by making talismans to sell to the public. Additionally, devotees who had no opportunity to visit temples and shrines associated with efficacious talismans could obtain them from traveling secular representatives of those places or from mendicant clerics.

Not all talismans were associated with specific temples, icons, and belief systems. This is the case with *ōtsue,* small woodblock prints and sketches of popular religious subjects. Private shops in Ōtsu, a small town near Kyoto along the Tōkaidō Highway, began making *ōtsue* in the seventeenth century.[45] Shops selling them to passersby are featured in a woodblock print of Ōtsu by the ukiyoe print designer Andō Hiroshige (1797–1858) around 1852 in his popular series *Fifty Three Stations of the Tōkaidō Road* (fig. 4.19). One of the favorite *ōtsue* subjects, an *oni* in the guise of a begging and chanting monk (*Oni no nenbutsu*—an *oni* repeating a mantra, the name of the buddha Amida), appears prominently within Hiroshige's print. This image reflects the *oni*'s newfound positive identity within the Buddhist pantheon. Within the repertoire of *ōtsue,* the text written



4.18. Talisman of the Splinter-Removing (Togenuki) Jizō at Kōganji, Tokyo, illustrated together with its paper wrapper, purchased at the temple in 2004. Wood with woodblock-printed design in black ink and paper wrapper; talisman: 4.5 × 2.5 cm. Private collection, USA. Photograph by author.



4.19. Andō Hiroshige (1797–1858). *Station Number 54, Ōtsu,* from the series *Fifty Three Stations of the Tōkaidō Road* (*Reisho* edition), ca. 1852. Woodblock print in ink and colors on paper, horizontal *ōban* format, 22.9 × 35.9 cm. The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, Missouri. Purchase: Nelson Trust, 32-143/261. Photograph by Jamison Miller.

on pictures of *oni* suggests that their meaning varied. Sometimes inscriptions imply that they satirically represented the predatory practices of mendicant monks and the superficial appearance of goodness, while in other cases they relate that *oni* possessed protective powers against wickedness and an ability to stop babies from crying at night.[46]

These differing interpretations suggest the capability of the recipients to



4.20. Anonymous *ōtsue* artist. *Monkey, Catfish, and Gourd*, eighteenth century. Ink and color on paper, 62.3 × 21.8 cm. Former collection of Yanagi Sōetsu. Japan Folk Crafts Museum (Nihon Mingeikan), Tokyo.

adapt the imagery to their own circumstances and beliefs. In this way some *ōtsue* became associated with the moralistic philosophy of Shingaku (translated as "the School of the Mind" or "Heart Learning"), one school of syncretic spiritual teaching popular among educated urban merchants that combined Shinto, Buddhist, and Confucian ideals of self-reflection, intuitive understanding, honesty, filial piety, and diligence. It must be no coincidence that Shingaku's founder, Ishida Baigan (1685–1744), developed his philosophy after Tokugawa Tsunayoshi's pronouncements to teach some of these very values to commoners.[47] Shingaku followers probably did not dictate the subjects for *ōtsue,* but suggested their interpretation through inscriptions. One oft-repeated subject linked to Shingaku portrayed a monkey, catfish, and gourd, sometimes, as in figure 4.20, including a sake cup. The subject is based on a famous, oft-illustrated Zen

kōan (a question or parable that students of Zen contemplate, under the guidance of a master, to reach intuitive insights), "How can one catch a catfish with a gourd?" To a Zen follower, the gourd represents the state of enlightenment, which is empty of all things of this world. Hence catching a catfish, or gaining any material benefit, from the attainment of wisdom is self-contradictory. To followers of Shingaku, the parable offered a moral lesson on the superficiality of greed. Here, the phrase reads, "If, like a monkey's silly wisdom, you try to catch a slippery catfish with an empty gourd, when can you catch a real catfish?"[48] In folk belief this subject also carried a less abstract meaning as a talisman for protection against drowning (Welch 1994, 75).

IMAGERY OF BUDDHIST deities and beliefs introduced in this chapter illustrates some of Edo-period Buddhism's most defining characteristics, including its syncretic nature and the increasing prevalence of privately produced devotional imagery for the benefit of commoners. It also shows the centrality of Buddhist imagery to ritual acts performed by followers in order to assist in both their attainment of salvation and their opportunity to live a good life in their present existence. The imagery expresses strong emotional bonds between devotees and their faith, emotions that range from horror and fear to joy and hopefulness, from pious reverence to humor and satire. The admission of the quasi-religious, noncanonical figures of *oni* and the Seven Gods of Good Fortune to the pantheon of Buddhist gods and the caricature-like, humane portrayals of Rakan reveal the emergence of yet another significant characteristic of later Japanese Buddhism — its increasing informality and fusion with popular, secular culture.

Chapter Five

Professional Icon-Makers

PATRONAGE OF TEMPLES increased during the Edo period in accordance with steady population growth. The populace patronized these temples and purchased religious imagery not only because the government dictated their allegiance to Buddhist institutions, but also because of the successful proselytizing efforts of clerics that encouraged them to look to the faith for assistance in alleviating their worldly troubles and as a means of assuaging their fears about life after death. These factors helped create opportunities for individuals and groups of professional artists to engage in the business of icon making for temples. Some Buddhist image-makers specialized in production of religious arts, while for others, especially painters, Buddhist imagery made up only a fraction of their repertoire. Some worked in guildlike studios in existence for centuries; others joined newly founded workshops or worked independently. The *Illustrated Compendium of Buddhist Images* (see figs. 4.9, 4.10), first published in 1690 and revised and reprinted many times since, played a crucial role in disseminating information for proper iconographic representation of Buddhist deities and creating a uniform model for diverse artists.

The identity of these numerous makers all too often remains a mystery, since their names and studio affiliations appear infrequently in inscriptions on imagery. The best records exist for specialists in Buddhist image making who were trained in important old studios of Kyoto, Osaka, and Nara. Reflecting the changing patterns of wealth distribution, in the early Edo period they worked mainly for elite samurai, but by the era's end many of their patrons were wealthy merchants. Sometimes they received commissions from daimyo in far-flung regions, and often they worked on projects at temples of great historical and na-

tional importance. Because these image-makers set national standards for quality and style and because they trained local practitioners, this chapter focuses primarily on them. But it also addresses the production of Buddhist icons by secular professional painters. Sometimes these artists created devotional imagery for temples, but often their patrons requested Buddhist imagery for display in secular environments. Secular artists of earlier periods had also sometimes included Buddhist imagery within their oeuvre, but from this time forward such imagery became more frequent, reflective of the increasing convergence of the secular and sacred realms, which led the new legions of patrons, many of them sophisticated urban commoners, to request such imagery from the artists they patronized.

Specialists in Buddhist Sculpture and Painting: *Busshi* and *Ebusshi*

Lay artisans known as *busshi* created most Buddhist sculpture prior to the Edo period. Since the eighth century, they worked for the court and powerful temples, first in Nara, then in Kyoto. In the Heian period, *busshi* became freelance artists who operated family-run workshops comprising specialists in bronze casting, wood carvings of particular body parts, decoration, and crafting statuary accoutrements. Most had ties to particular temples and secular patrons.[1] During the late Heian and early Kamakura periods, the most talented and influential lineages emerged from the Kyoto workshop of Jōchō (d. 1057). Foremost among these was the Seventh Avenue Atelier and its offshoots. Esteem for this atelier remained high among elite patrons well into the seventeenth century, and records of their activities during the Edo period still survive.[2] The Seventh Avenue Atelier was responsible for major projects, including Hideyoshi's Great Buddha in Kyoto (see fig. 1.1) and sculptures at Rinnōji in Nikkō and Kan'eiji in Edo (see fig. 1.9). Despite the high caliber of these and other surviving images, modern scholars believe that by the Muromachi era, sculptures by *busshi* of this and other orthodox lineages began to show signs of "stylistic fatigue" (McCallum 1996, 126). Scholars hold similar opinions about their Edo-period workshop imagery as well. Such critiques date to the early Meiji period.[3]

By the late seventeenth century, Kyoto *busshi* workshops had multiplied, and the Seventh Avenue Atelier no longer received all the best commissions. Most continued the inherited styles of their predecessors, though they on occasion derived inspiration from direct contact with much older pieces during restoration projects. As a result, their works varied considerably in style and quality, sometimes emulating specific old styles directly and sometimes synthesizing various artistic traditions. The Kan'eiji pagoda statues are good examples of the former tendency, closely resembling Kamakura-period images. In contrast,



5.1. Kiyomizu (or Shimizu) Ryūkei (d. 1732) in collaboration with Hōzan Tankai (1629–1716). *Fudō Myōō,* 1696. Carved wood with polychrome and crystal eyes. Height: 55.4 cm. Gyokusenji, Osaka. Photograph courtesy of the Sakai City Museum.

some *busshi*, such as Shōun Genkei (see fig. 2.7) and those who worked at Manpukuji in the seventeenth century, absorbed elements of Ming-style sculpture as practiced in Japan by Han Dōsei.[4]

One sculptor who created an original style, Kiyomizu (or Shimizu) Ryūkei I (d. 1732), did so in collaboration with a prominent monk from Osaka, Hōzan Tankai (1629–1716).[5] Their joint effort had, until recently, gone unnoticed because Tankai signed these statues, leading scholars to believe he carved them as an act of devotion. However, new evidence suggests that Tankai sketched a design for them and signed his name to mark his supervision of their enshrinement. Tankai especially revered Fudō Myōō, and various temples in the Osaka region, where his home temple of Hōzanji was located, own statues of this deity that bear his inscription (fig. 5.1). This example characterizes the style the two men perfected and comes from such a temple.[6] It exudes instant appeal with its animated facial expression and taut, breath-infused posture.



5.2. Unidentified sculptor from a workshop at Horikawa Hirokoji, Kyoto. *Jizō Bodhisattva,* 1724. Gilt wood. Height: 50.5 cm. Hōonjin, Hirosaki, Aomori Prefecture. Photograph courtesy of Sudō Hirotoshi.

Many Kyoto and Nara *busshi,* such as Shōun Genkei, who trained in old *busshi* ateliers, relocated to the thriving merchant city of Osaka and to the Tokyo region, where many newly founded temples required imagery.[7] Because of the prestige of their workshops, many also accepted temporary commissions from provincial daimyo. Such important Kyoto workshop commissions have already been discussed in relation to the imagery at Hōnenji in Takamatsu (see figs. 2.11, 2.12). Records at temples and inscriptions on statues in the northern Japanese Tsugaru domain in Hirosaki indicate their presence in this distant outpost as well. One of these Hirosaki temples, the Tendai temple Hōonji, possesses a finely sculpted gilt-wood statue of the bodhisattva Jizō dated to 1724 and signed by a Kyoto *busshi* (fig. 5.2).[8] The gentle face, elegant proportions, and voluminous, flowing drapery refute stereotypes of the decline in quality of statues from this century.

Both Kyoto- and Osaka-based *busshi* took part in the largest Buddhist temple-building project of the eighteenth century, the rebuilding of the Great Buddha Hall (Daibutsuden) at Tōdaiji in Nara, and the simultaneous repair and replace-

ment of its damaged interior statues, which lasted until the project was abandoned in 1799.[9] This momentous project was begun by the temple's abbot, Kōkei (1648–1705). Like the rebuilding of Naritasan Shinshōji, which began around the same time, a charismatic priest provided the initiative and relied on commoner support for subsidy because of *bakufu* impoverishment. Kōkei began soliciting funds in 1684. The repair of the bronze Great Buddha was completed by 1692, and by 1708 the hall had been rebuilt.[10] Only then did work begin on recreating the subsidiary statues for the building's vast interior, all carved in wood. This project included a pair of 7-meter-tall images of bodhisattvas flanking the Great Buddha. Carving these gigantic icons had begun around 1726, under the joint direction of Kyoto *busshi* Yamamoto Junkei (dates unknown) and Osaka *busshi* Tsubai Minbu Kenkei (dates unknown).[11] The Nyōirin Kannon Bodhisattva was completed first, around 1738, and the Kokuzō (Skt. Ākaśa garbha) "Boundless Wisdom" Bodhisattva was finished in 1752 (fig. 5.3). Both Junkei and Kenkei died before completing the Kokuzō. Their followers, Hatta Ryōkei (1683–1763), disciple of Junkei, and Tsubai Minbu Inkei (dates unknown), disciple of Kenkei, took over and are credited as its carvers. The statue impresses viewers with its massive size. But the flattened planes of the face and the evenly spaced drapery folds that cascade over the statue's knees with regimented precision reveal the inherent difficulty of carving monumental sculpture, resulting in an image that lacks expressiveness.

In the late Edo period, many Kyoto *busshi* derived income from restoration projects like that at Tōdaiji. One of the most active early nineteenth-century sculptors, and one whose activities and family pedigree are better known than most, was Tanaka Kōkyō (alt. Uchikurasuke; active first half of the nineteenth century).[12] He was the eldest son of a prominent Osaka-born Maruyama-school painter, Mori Tessan (1775–1841), and his daughter married another Maruyama-school painter, Maruyama Ōzui (1766–1829), eldest son of the school's illustrious founder, Maruyama Ōkyo (1733–1795) (Chō 1999, 102). Nevertheless, Kōkyō joined the orthodox Tanaka *busshi* lineage, active in Kyoto since the latter half of the seventeenth century. Although few records of Kōkyō's patrons survive, his familial connections with wealthy art aficionados must have helped his workshop secure commissions. His work included repair of seventeenth-century statues at Hōnenji in Takamatsu (see figs. 2.11, 2.12) and a memorial portrait of another famous Kyoto painter, Kishi Ganku (1739–1838).[13]

Kōkyō's most important project was for the Shingon headquarters of Tōji, where he created replacement statues for four of the five Great Wisdom Buddhas[14] (fig. 5.4). These statues form part of a group of twenty-one life-size sculptures on the altar of the temple's Lecture Hall, installed in 839 and arranged in a mandala formation as conceived by Kōbō Daishi. They are among the most important esoteric Buddhist icons in all of Japan. Kōkyō must have been a highly



5.3. Hatta Ryōkei (1683–1763) and Tsubai Minbu Inkei (n.d.). *The Bodhisattva Kokuzō* in the Great Buddha Hall (Daibutsuden) at Tōdaiji, Nara, 1752. Wood with polychrome, gilt, and inlaid crystal eyes. Height: 710 cm. Photograph: Ueda Eisuke, courtesy of Suzuki Yoshihiro, Nara National Museum.

respected sculptor to be the recipient of this commission. His statues, which he signed and dated, were installed in 1834 for a grand memorial service for Kōbō Daishi on the one-thousand-year anniversary of his death. In comparison with the statue of Dainichi that Kōkyō's statues surround, it is evident that he carved the images in the style of his time. For example, the gilt-wood circular halos (*mandorla*) behind the bodies of his figures are small and simple, with a single band of solid cloud designs. In contrast, the *mandorla* for the Dainichi is much larger, with intricate pierced designs. Also, the lotus-petal thrones upon which the buddhas sit display similar variations. Finally, the depth of the carving and the drapery patterns that cascade over the knees of the figures on Kōkyō's statues and the Dainichi reveal different artistic perspectives.

Outside formal *busshi* ateliers, beginning in the sixteenth century independent groups of lay Buddhist "town sculptors" (*machi busshi*) formed their own workshops to compete with the prestigious orthodox ateliers (Washizuka 1997, 57). Although they remain largely obscure, one representative early group, the Nara-based Shukuin Busshi, has been the subject of recent scholarly study (Nara-ken



5.4. Tanaka Kōkyō (active first half of the nineteenth century). *Four Wisdom Buddhas and the Buddha Dainichi* on the altar in the Lecture Hall at Tōji, Kyoto, 1834 (Four Wisdom Buddhas); 1496 (Dainichi). Gilt wood with inset crystal eyes. Wisdom Buddhas height range: 134.2 to 143.6 cm. Dainichi height: 284 cm. Photograph: Benrido, Kyoto.

Kyōiku Iinkai 1998; Nara Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan 2005a). Their founder left his family profession as a carpenter and worked under the direction of a self-taught sculptor-priest. He and several generations of followers attracted a variety of patrons, from elite nobles and samurai to priests and commoners. The style associated with the Shukuin Busshi sculptors is distinguished by plain wood surfaces and architectonic bi-symmetry, influenced by their prior profession as temple carpenters. Characteristic of the way Japanese culture integrates new traditions into its social order, *machi busshi* did not displace the orthodox *busshi*,



5.5. Small portable shrine (*zushi*) with the bodhisattva Kannon, mid-eighteenth century. Lacquer on wood with gilding, 15.8 × 6.9 × 3.8 cm. Santa Barbara Museum of Art.

who continued to attract the patronage of those in power; rather, beginning in the Edo period, they worked for new commoner patrons. One of their images, representative of the taste of newly affluent merchants, is an elegant portable shrine (*zushi*) for private devotions (fig. 5.5). The austere, graceful, plain wood image of the bodhisattva Kannon that it houses has a painted wood *mandorla* reminiscent of the Shukuin Busshi style and is embellished with a delicate application of gold leaf. The shrine interior is completely lined with gold leaf and augmented with a simple repeating basket-weave pattern.

Paralleling the establishment of *busshi* workshops in the eighth century, the court also established ateliers of *ebusshi,* Buddhist icon-painting specialists. By the Heian period, temples began to staff their own *ebusshi* workshops. Some *ebusshi* were laity in the employ of temples; others were low-ranking monks. These temple *ebusshi* workshops flourished through the Muromachi period, but by the sixteenth century temples became impoverished and could no longer support them, so ateliers of secular professionals gradually took over these commissions.[15]

Kimura Ryōtaku was the name used by successive headmasters of the most

prestigious lineage of independent professional Buddhist painters of the Edo period, who worked in temples patronized by the shogunate, wealthy daimyo, and the imperial court.[16] Recent research has uncovered a record, dating to 1565, revealing that the family descended from a painter of the Tosa school, an esteemed artistic lineage founded in the early Muromachi era that painted both secular and religious-themed pictures for the emperor and other aristocratic families.[17] Tosa artists specialized in courtly themes in brightly colored, native Japanese styles derived from one type of *yamatoe* (lit. "pictures of Yamato," the ancient hub of imperial power near Nara), that had first been devised at the height of imperial power in the Heian period.

Inscriptions on painted surfaces of Buddhist sculptures indicate that painters using the name "Kimura" sometimes worked together with high-ranking sculptors such as the Seventh Avenue Atelier on important shogunate-financed temple restoration projects.[18] They also worked independently of the sculptors on major projects for the shogunate — for example, at Nikkō, where the name Kimura Ryōtaku appears on a Buddhist wall painting at the Nikkō Tōshōgū dated 1636 (Onishi 1970). Documents describing the religious images and their makers at Nikkō reveal that Tenkai, head of Nikkō's Rinnōji temple, personally selected the artists who worked at the temple-shrine complex and instructed them on their design. Tenkai stipulated that his Buddhist paintings should possess a deep and mysterious aura (*jinbi*) (Miyama 1996, 25). A large painting at Rinnōji in Nikkō by Kimura Ryōtaku VI (active second half of the seventeenth century), typifies this family style (plate 10). It portrays the buddha Shaka attended by the bodhisattvas Fugen and Monju. Ryōtaku VI painted this scroll in 1671 for display during the twenty-first anniversary memorial service for the shogun Tokugawa Iemitsu at his Taiyūin mortuary in Nikkō. Typical of Edo-period Buddhist paintings, the artist painted the mounting that surrounds the central image to simulate a silk brocade border. The work is distinguished by elegantly flowing brushwork, luminous colors, and refined application of cut-gold leaf (*kirikane*).

Some Kimura-school artists who worked at Nikkō signed their given name as "Tokuetsu," which was sometimes used in conjunction with the names "Sakyō" or "Tosa." According to the 1685 edition of the Kyoto guidebook *Kyoto Habutae Silks* (*Kyōhabutae*), artists using the name Sakyō constituted one branch of this Kimura lineage, which, this book explains, had split into four branches by that time.[19] This same book notes that artists of a second Kimura branch used the given name Tokuō.[20] Sakon Sadatsuna (active 1640s–1680s), an exceptionally talented artist whose identity has long been a mystery, has recently been identified as belonging to this Tokuō branch based on two recently discovered paintings by him that bear seals inscribed "Second generation Tokuō."[21] This Kimura Tokuō branch worked mainly for important Kyoto Rinzai-sect temples,

particularly Myōshinji and Daitokuji, but their paintings are occasionally found at Ōbaku temples also (Fukuoka-shi Bijutsukan, 2004, 46 and 54).

Sadatsuna painted portraits of Zen masters, including some Ōbaku monks, and large, detailed pictures of Buddhist deities.[22] His most well-documented undertaking was the repair of wall paintings at the 1052 Phoenix Hall of the Byōdōin in Uji in 1670, thoroughly investigated in a recent study by Prof. Akiyama Terukazu (Akiyama 1992, 3:17–22). Since the temple was even then considered a national treasure and the project received *bakufu* funding, his work on this restoration signifies his high status as a painter.

One of Sadatsuna's most intriguing paintings is a large scroll of the *Death of the Buddha Shaka* (*Nehan zu*) with the unusual addition of three episodes from Shaka's life prominently featured above the main tableau where Shaka lies prostrate (plate 11). These paintings normally depicted only the Buddha's death, though some included his mother in paradise above, as in Hōnenji's sculpted ensemble. Sadatsuna's interpretation includes three episodes from the Buddha's life. On the left, the Buddha meditates under the bodhi tree prior to his enlightenment. The figures above him represent the army of ghouls belonging to Mara (the Buddhist personification of evil), who attacked him in an unsuccessful effort to break his concentration (fig. 5.6). On the right, the Buddha preaches his first sermon. Presiding in the center is the transcendent Shaka Buddha as he appears after his death, on his throne attended by Fugen and Monju. Towering behind these scenes is a literal representation of Vulture Peak, where the Buddha frequently preached during his lifetime.[23]

While the *Shaka Triad* by Kimura Ryōtaku VI features a precise and painstaking rendering of details, in comparison to Sadatsuna's *Death of the Buddha Shaka* scroll, its appearance is positively staid. Sadatsuna's colors and brushwork glow with depth and intensity. His figures and animals exude lively, individual temperaments. Although his painting style emerges from his study of the Kimura tradition, his natural talent shines through, and, in fact, his level of aesthetic excellence could not be matched by any other Kimura *ebusshi* of the Edo period.[24]

Buddhist Imagery in Official Painting Ateliers

During the Momoyama period, secular painters of the Kano, Unkoku, Kaihō, and Hasegawa schools sometimes brushed Buddhist icons for their patrons—powerful warriors and important Kyoto temples. These painting schools remained active after the Tokugawa took control of the nation and continued to produce Buddhist imagery closely resembling the work of their predecessors (Fukuoka-shi Bijutsukan 2004). However, Tokugawa Ieyasu awarded the main branch of the Kano school the highest rank among official painters (*goyō eshi*),



5.6. *Detail.* Sakon Sadatsuna (active 1640s–1680s). *Mara's Attack,* from *Death of the Buddha* (*Nehan zu*). Hanging scroll; ink, color, and gold on silk, 87 × 166 cm. Saint Louis Art Museum. Purchase: Anonymous gift.

which guaranteed them the most prestigious commissions because he recognized "their proven success in creating powerful visual symbols for past shogunal rulers" (Gerhart 2003, 14).

The Kano school continued to prosper during the middle years of the seventeenth century due to the extraordinary talent of one member of the main family, Kano Tan'yū. Tan'yū's artistic gift and political acumen enabled him to secure virtually all the important official shogunal painting commissions for the duration of his career. Tan'yū's skill was due in part to his incessant study of paintings. This quest led him to seek out the emigrant Ōbaku monks who possessed numerous Chinese paintings and who were themselves talented artists. Tan'yū first became acquainted with Ōbaku Ingen during Ingen's temporary residence prior to the founding of Manpukuji, between 1655 and 1661, at

the Osaka temple Fumonji, headed by Ingen's supporter Ryōkei Shōsen (Baroni 2000, 48). It seems that in preparation for Ingen's tenancy at Fumonji, Ryōkei engaged Yasunobu, Tan'yū's younger brother and pupil, to paint sliding doors for the guesthouse where the eminent priest would reside.[25] According to Ryōkei's surviving records, Tan'yū first met Ingen through an introduction by Yasunobu, when the brothers visited Fumonji together in 1556 to pay respects to Ingen on the occasion of an important Buddhist ceremony.[26]

Ingen maintained contact with Tan'yū after the establishment of Manpukuji and in fact hired him to paint Buddhist imagery for that temple. One painting Tan'yū produced for Manpukuji is a triptych of Shaka, Fugen, and Monju (plate 12), nearly identical to one by Ōbaku Itsunen, also owned by Manpukuji.[27] Both contain inscriptions by Ōbaku Ingen, although only the inscription on Itsunen's painting is dated (to 1665). The subtle shading of the robe and face is characteristic of late Ming painting traditions that Itsunen helped introduce to Japan. Tan'yū was the first Japanese artist to incorporate into his own work aspects of this style, which came to influence many later Edo-period artists from diverse artistic traditions (Graham 1991, 1992).

After Tan'yū's death, the Kano school continued to produce paintings based on models that Tan'yū and other elders of the school had codified. Their paintings remained in demand among samurai, whose status required that they display the work of painters preferred by the shoguns. The Kano school managed to perpetuate their identifiable manner in ateliers that taught diligence and repetition over originality. So successful and abundant were their ateliers at teaching techniques of brushwork and color application using copybook models that they opened branch workshops throughout Japan where aspiring artists studied as apprentices. Some scholars have blamed this training method for stifling creativity, and indeed, until recently, scholars regarded artists affiliated with the Kano school after the time of Tan'yū as generally uninspired, although many of the best, most creative artists of the later Edo period began their studies in Kano ateliers.[28] However, the little-studied Buddhist paintings by later generations of Kano artists, including Kano Kazunobu's monumental set of the Five Hundred Rakan for Zōjōji (see plate 7) and Kano Tōhaku's *Scenes from Hell* (see plate 9) reveal no lack of talent by artists in this genre.[29]

Because Buddhist icon painting required adherence to iconographic accuracy, professional artists often relied on a corpus of well-known earlier works as their models. One artist to whose works Edo-period painters frequently turned for inspiration was the Tōfukuji monk Minchō, a prolific painter of colorful, large Buddhist paintings who based his own paintings on Chinese prototypes. Among his most frequently copied works, by artists from different painting lineages, is a set of thirty-three paintings of thirty-three manifestations of the bodhisattva Kannon that he painted for Tōfukuji. This theme is derived from chapter 25 of

the Lotus Sutra, which enumerates various dangers that befall people and the thirty-three guises Kannon assumes to save them. Famous copies are known by Kano Sansetsu (1589–1651), who faithfully reproduced two scrolls for Tōfukuji in 1647; the Ōbaku painter Takuhō Dōshū (1652–1714), a one-time student of Tan'yū whose copy dates to 1677; and Hara Zaichū (1750–1837), an independent artist who worked for wealthy merchants and temples supported by them.[30] All these artists practiced in Kyoto, where they would have had access to Minchō's original paintings.

However, not all artists who emulated Minchō followed his compositions closely. One original adaptation was created by Kakushū Genkō (aka Sumiyoshi Hironatsu, 1641–1730). This artist was the second son of Sumiyoshi Jokei (1599–1670), a Tosa family artist who split from that lineage and took the new surname of Sumiyoshi by imperial decree in 1662 and soon after began painting for the shogunate and their elite daimyo retainers who wanted pictures that would demonstrate to viewers that they shared a heritage with the imperial family. Jokei's descendants continued to paint for the *bakufu* and also served as official connoisseurs of old paintings, specializing in colorful, charming, Tosa-style pictures of episodes from classics of Japanese literature and narrative scrolls that touted the legitimacy of Tokugawa rule. With the exception of Kakushū, they did not generally produce Buddhist imagery. Kakushū naturally studied under his father, but as second son he could not inherit the main family line, so he found employment as painter to the wealthy Maeda daimyo of Kanazawa. While in service there, he fell ill with a serious ear infection, and after recovering he retired from duty and became ordained as an Ōbaku monk. In 1688, he accepted an offer from the Matsudaira daimyo Yorishige, founder of Hōnenji in Takamastu, to become an official painter to the clan. For them he painted subjects standard in the repertoire of Sumiyoshi artists: bird-and-flower and figure paintings, but also Buddhist devotional imagery.

Kakushū completed his set of Kannon scrolls around 1692, several years before his patron Yorishige's death[31] (fig. 5.7). The scope of the project and its masterful execution suggest it was done for Yorishige. The screens, now owned by Hōnenji, came to the temple as a gift of the last, eleventh-generation Matsudaira daimyo. Kakushū and his elite samurai patrons apparently had great fondness for this subject, for several other sets by him, quite similar in appearance to the one shown in figure 5.7, are known.[32] Although unsigned, scholars do not doubt its authenticity (the painting has been designated an Important Cultural Property). The top portion of each scroll contains calligraphic inscriptions on sheets of paper pasted in place, with passages from the Lotus Sutra that relate to each scene. The calligrapher also did not sign his work, but the style suggests the writer was Ōbaku Kōsen, who also inscribed Takuhō Dōshū's version (Ōtsuki 1985, 318).



5.7. Kakushū Genkō (aka Sumiyoshi Hironatsu, 1641–1730). *Kannon Bodhisattva Saving a Man from Drowning,* around 1692. From a set of forty scrolls mounted on three pairs of six-panel and one pair of two-panel screens. Ink and colors on silk; each panel: 144.1 × 55.6 cm. Hōnenji, Takamatsu. Photograph courtesy of Ōtsuki Mikio.

Like Minchō's set, the one in Hōnenji portrays multiple images of Kannon encircled by a halo in a heavenly realm, floating above landscape scenes peopled with an entourage of Buddhist guardians and attendants. Kakushū's pictures reveal his skill at capturing the viewer's interest by populating each scene with minutely rendered narrative details in the fine brushwork of the Sumiyoshi school. Although the subjects and figural groupings derive from the original, Kakushū took extensive artistic license with the compositions and details, as seen in the panel from the Hōnenji screens illustrated in figure 5.7.[33] In this scene, a devotee clasps his hands in prayer to Kannon as he jumps off a cliff to flee bandits. His pleas are answered as a hand (with an all-seeing eye in the palm) emerges from billowing waves to catch him. Kakushū's set contains forty pictures: the standard group of thirty-three that appear in Minchō's scrolls, five additional images of other manifestations of Kannon floating above landscapes, and at the beginning and end of his series, large-scale, full-frontal images of Shaka and a white-robed Kannon, respectively. His Kannon paintings testify that even for an officially sponsored painter working within a strictly regulated and conservative system, creative adaptation of a traditional Buddhist model was possible.

Buddhist Imagery by Independent Painters

Around the same time that the Shukuin Busshi sculptors began production of Buddhist sculpture during the late Muromachi period, similar conditions in the painting world created new opportunities for independent painters. Townspeople in Japan's newly developing urban centers patronized these artists, who became known as "town painters" (*machi eshi*). They worked in Tosa-related native Japanese styles to create narrative scrolls, many with Buddhist themes, and fans and screens of genre scenes. By the Edo period, an increased population of commoners meant more clients for these artists, so their numbers multiplied. By the late seventeenth century, their ranks also came to include some of the many artists trained in Kano school ateliers who left to establish their own workshops in Japan's increasingly mercantile society. These independent artists flourished nationally, creating both religious and secular paintings for commoners.

Among these artists, those who were ingenious, ambitious, and talented attracted clients in Japan's major cities, whose diverse residents variously appreciated exciting, nostalgic, innovative, or simply beautiful art. Their personal inclinations led them to develop unique visual styles that combined elements from various traditions of the past (such as Kano and Tosa) with new influences from abroad (both China and the West). Although much of these painters' oeuvres encompassed the production of secular subjects, including contemporary genre scenes and historical and literary themes, they also fulfilled commissions for religious imagery, often upon the request of friends or regular patrons and

sometimes for more personal reasons, such as memorials to their own deceased family members.

One of the most popular new painting styles, variously called *nanga* (southern painting) or *bunjinga* (literati painting), appealed to artists and patrons who, for various reasons, admired Chinese literati culture.[34] Many of these artists lived in the vicinity of Kyoto, a hotbed of fervor for Sinophile studies. *Nanga* was as much an attitude as a style; its practitioners borrowed from assorted Chinese-derived stylistic models. One prevailing influence came from Ōbaku Buddhist painting, both in style, as perpetuated by Itsunen and his followers, and subject matter, especially various incarnations of Kannon and the Rakan. Although *nanga* painters are most famous for landscape and bird-and-flower themes, most also painted Rakan. Interest in this theme stemmed from similar impulses that caused the general proliferation of Rakan sculpture: admiration for them as heroic models for moral conduct. Some *nanga* painters practiced their art as amateurs, painting only for personal pleasure. Others worked as professionals. One of the professionals was Hine Taizan (1813–1869), whose energetically brushed *Sixteen Rakan,* dated 1862, typifies the idiosyncratic and humorous tone taken by *nanga* painters for this subject (plate 13).[35] Taizan's painting style reveals his mastery of the spontaneous brushwork initiated by amateur Chinese literati painters centuries earlier. But his polished composition and decorative application of light colors reveal the hand of a professional artist.

Around the same time that *nanga*-style painting grew popular in Kyoto, Maruyama Ōkyo started another new lineage. He fused diverse elements from traditional Japanese, Chinese, and Western brush techniques into a distinctive personal style combining naturalism and stylization. His new Maruyama school grew so popular among the urban middle classes that it begat competitor ateliers, including the Mori school (into which the *busshi* Tanaka Kōkyō was born). Ōkyo taught the importance of sketching from life (*shasei*), but, owing to his own early study in a Kano atelier, he also utilized that school's training method of copying from books and preparatory sketches (*shitae*) to create familiar representations of traditional subjects. Artists influenced by Ōkyo are best known for their lifelike images of the natural world, but some also produced religious imagery for dedication to their own family temples or at the request of patrons of various sectarian affiliations. Because paintings of Buddhist icons required fidelity to models, the Maruyama school circulated copybooks for their artists to use.

A recent five-volume publication on Maruyama school sketches reproduces a large number of these, gathered together by one of Ōkyo's little-known direct disciples, Shimada (orig. Ki) Motonao (aka Randō, 1734–1819). This compilation includes two volumes devoted to Buddhist icons compiled by Takai Sōgen, a contemporary Buddhist sculptor (Takai 1997). The Buddhist volumes include



5.8. Unidentified artist of the Maruyama school. Sketch of the buddha Shaka, copying a Chinese painting owned by Tōfukuji, Kyoto, late eighteenth to mid-nineteenth century. Ink and light colors on paper, approx. 100 × 60 cm. Private collection, Fukuoka.

both freehand drawings and woodblock-printed images, some inscribed with the names of the artists whose works were copied. One of the models illustrated is a famous Chinese triptych of Shaka, Fugen, and Monju, the original of which is owned by Tōfukuji and dates to the thirteenth or fourteenth century.[36] The sketch of the central image of Shaka shown in figure 5.8 replicates many features of the original, including the Buddha's pose, the dark, angular outlines of his robe, its red color and floral pattern, and the Buddha's placement atop a rocky ledge on a mat of grasses. But unlike the original, the artist has added Maruyama school–style volumetric shading to the face, neck, and arms and drawn swirling waves (or perhaps clouds) beneath the promontory.

The Osaka-born Mori Sosen (1747–1821), Japan's most famous painter of naturalistically rendered monkeys, also copied this painting of Shaka in a triptych for

Saifukuji, his family temple in Osaka, in 1806.[37] He probably based his picture on the Maruyama school model or one similar to it. It is one of only three figure paintings by him known to exist (Kimura 1975, 64; Kōno 1972, 10–11). One of the others (plate 14) is a daring variation of the traditional Rinzai Zen theme of the buddha Shaka emerging from the mountains (Shussan Shaka), displayed in Zen temples during a ritual held on the eighth day of the twelfth month commemorating Shaka's enlightenment. It portrays the Buddha just prior to preaching his first sermon confronting "the individual viewer even today with both the challenge and the potential of seeking a personal awakening to salvation" (Rogers 1983, 33). Such an image is fitting in Rinzai temples, where Shaka is admired as a mortal man who was committed to solitary and strenuous self-sacrifice in his quest for enlightenment, rather than as an abstract symbol of buddhahood (Brinker 1973, 21). In the Edo period, increased veneration of Shaka as a heroic figure parallels admiration for Rakan, who also walked among the living. Just as with Rakan, admiration for Shaka in his persona as Shussan Shaka spread to followers of sects other than Zen and encouraged new types of representations of the theme, as in Sosen's example.

Orthodox Zen images of this theme are generally austere ink paintings showing Shaka as a gaunt ascetic. Sosen's painting strays far from that model, although the composition of his scroll was probably based on a Kano school prototype.[38] His Shaka looks more like a common beggar than a saint, with a humorous aspect that may appear irreverent. By injecting such inferences into his painting, Sosen shows he dared to break with the conventional and staid Kano artists' approach to the subject and appropriate influences from the Zen painting tradition, which frequently poked fun at serious Buddhist themes. This sort of painting became exceedingly popular in the late Edo period as the influence of Zen monk-artists spread to painters of other artistic traditions, both professionals such as Sosen and amateur monk-painters affiliated with other sects. As already mentioned in chapter 4, this sense of playfulness is a defining characteristic of much of popular Edo-period art.

The obvious resemblance of Shaka's face in Sosen's painting to the portraits of monkeys for which he was best known could not be mere accident, for the monkey had a long history of spiritual association (Graham 1991, 278). His insertion of humor was not blasphemous, nor did it nullify the dignity of the sacred image. Cloaking the deity in the role of a common vagrant tinged with simian features cleverly underscored one aspect of the message Sosen aimed to deliver with this picture: the Buddhist belief that all sentient beings inherently possess the Buddha nature.

Artists of the ukiyoe school injected similar sentiments into many of their diverse representations of Buddhist subjects. These included formal icons and multisheet series or single-sheet prints of temples, pilgrimage circuits, the lives



5.9. Hishikawa Moronobu (d. 1694). *A Courtesan Depicted as the Bodhisattva Jizō,* ca. 1681–1684. Woodblock print in ink on paper, 25.7 × 38.2 cm. Tobacco and Salt Museum, Tokyo.

of famous Buddhist teachers, and illustrations for widely distributed versions of Buddhist sutras and moralistic stories, the latter emblematic of the pervasive influence of Confucianism in commoner culture.[39] Some of these various types of images have been discussed in previous chapters: Utagawa Kuniyoshi's *Roben Waterfall at Ōyama* (see plate 3), Utagawa Hiroshige III's *Fukagawa Fudōson* (see plate 5), and Andō Hiroshige's *Seven Gods of Good Fortune in Their Treasure Ship* (see fig. 4.12). These pictures capture the jovial spirit that characterized much of popular Edo-period religious practice.

Sometimes, ukiyoe artists, especially in designs for more inexpensively produced prints intended for amusement rather than formal edification, represented Buddhist deities with more blatant satirical intent than that found in Sosen's Shussan Shaka. One picture of this type is by the early ukiyoe artist Hishikawa Moronobu (d. 1694). Although he sometimes portrayed Buddhist subjects with sincerity, of greater interest and originality are his more ironic Buddhist images.[40] One print of the bodhisattva Jizō seems at first to represent the deity blessing a group of townspeople, although astute observers would have recognized its hidden meaning (fig. 5.9). Jizō is represented as a courtesan in disguise, strolling along in front of an admiring client and two young servants. The figure's attendants carry a smoking pipe and other tobacco paraphernalia, popular among the urban dilettantes who frequented the pleasure quarters,

and the staff Jizō carries has a bundle of rope, used for lighting pipes, swinging near its top.[41] Moronobu's audience would have taken great delight in discerning the hidden meaning of these symbols, but they also would have recognized in the picture the Buddhist message: that of the futility of fixating on the body, especially that of beautiful women, whose remains, like those of all living things, became repulsive in death.

Women entertainers, shamans, and others who played creative and fringe roles in society were regarded as liminal figures, mediators between the world of the living and the dead. Consequently, the public regarded them as "teachers of impermanence, bodhisattvas in disguise" (Chin 1998, 309–310). The presence of this duality, a clever parody and serious sermon, in a single ukiyoe picture reflected the undercurrent of Buddhist values in this most materialistic subculture of Edo Japan. Such prints would not have been intended as devotional imagery for display in temples or family Buddhist altars, but rather enjoyed as secular art, a sign of Buddhism's penetration into the secular realm.

In contrast to ukiyoe artists, whose designs reflected the preoccupation of their patrons for iconoclastic, modern interpretations of traditional themes, other artists became enamored of Japanese art styles associated with courtier culture of the Heian period, the *yamatoe* precursors to the Tosa and Sumiyoshi school traditions.[42] The Tokugawa encouraged this focus and in fact contributed to broader circulation of knowledge about ancient art of this era, both secular and religious, through sponsorship of methodical investigations of the holdings of notable temples and shrines.[43]

One artist who caught this antiquarian fervor was Kikuchi Yōsai (1788–1878), a native of Edo and son of a minor *bakufu* official (D. Satō 1993; Nerima Kuritsu Bijutsukan 1999). At age eighteen he began to study painting in a Kano-school atelier. But his fascination with historical subjects led him to embark on a deeper, self-directed investigation of old paintings published between 1836 and 1868 in a ten-volume manual for history painters titled *Ancient Wisdom and Old Customs* (*Zenken kojitsu*).[44] His mature personal style intertwined elements of the Kano, Tosa, and Maruyama schools, but his subjects remained historical. Although he frequently depicted grand events of both China and Japan, he sometimes created Buddhist imagery, generally popular figures that reflected Buddhist beliefs about the afterlife, such as Enma, king of the Buddhist Hells, Rakan, and Jizō.

One of Yōsai's most compelling Buddhist images conveyed the same core meaning as Moronobu's *A Courtesan Depicted as the Bodhisattva Jizō* — the need to overcome attachment to the impermanent and polluted realm of the living (plate 15). But he conceptualized it quite differently, basing his depiction on a particular type of popular, ancient Buddhist narrative picture of the nine stages of a decomposing corpse (*kusōzu*). From as early as the thirteenth cen-

tury, artists had illustrated this theme as a focus of meditation to aid devotees in their renunciation of the flesh and attainment of salvation after death.[45] Because sutras of various sects mentioned the practice, it became widespread among monks and devout laity, especially those that incorporated Pure Land beliefs about the six realms of reincarnation, for whom such visualization became associated with the impure realm of human existence (Kanda 2005, 29). By the Edo period, the diverse pictures of this theme suggest its broad appeal, particularly among women. Yōsai's inscription indicates that he painted it while living near Kan'eiji in Edo for a Buddhist priest named Hyakujō, whose title indicates affiliation with one of the esoteric sects. The priest probably hung it when parishioners, probably women, visited his temple to pray.[46]

Yōsai presents his version, veiled as a historical painting, in a modernized version of the brightly colored interior scenes found in ancient *yamatoe*-style paintings of courtly narrative tales popular among women. Yōsai conceived the spatial recession, the naturalistically rendered physical features of figures, and the buildings and landscape in the styles of his day. But the portrayal of the lady in the lower portion of the scroll who is peering through a screen and wearing a Shinto shrine priestess robe like the stiff, elegant garments of Heian-period court ladies is derived from ancient *yamatoe*-style pictures. These priestesses are liminal spirits who mediate with the dead (Chin 1998, 309–310). Here, she gazes at a dead woman, probably her future self, in various stages of decay, culminating in a gravestone in the upper left quadrant of the picture. Many *yamatoe* pictures emphasized the beauty and poignancy of life through seasonal images that reveal the passage of time. This picture, with its emphasis on postdeath decomposition, recalls such subjects, though here the Buddhist overtone is more overt.

Another artist who contributed to a revival of interest in the ancient *yamatoe* style was Reizei Tamechika (1823–1864), who was born into and received his initial training in a Kano-school atelier. But he tired of the school's rigidity and, like Yōsai, turned to the *yamatoe* style, which he learned by assiduous study of old scrolls of the twelfth through fourteenth centuries. He also studied with Ukita Ikkei (1795–1859), an important artist who had perfected an archaic re-creation of *yamatoe,* now known as *fukko yamatoe* (*yamatoe* revival). *Fukko yamatoe* artists found patronage among aristocrats and other imperial supporters for whom the style carried a politically charged message — glorification of Japan's imperial age through paintings of historical and Buddhist subjects in ancient courtier styles. However, Tamechika's attraction to *fukko yamatoe* stemmed simply from his love of the style and its subject matter. At age twenty-eight Tamechika was adopted into the Okada courtier clan, probably because of their appreciation for his artistic vision. This adoption led to his probably reluctant involvement in the political turmoil at the end of the Edo period that pitted sup-

porters of the Tokugawa shogunate against those who sought to replace it with direct imperial rule. Still, imperial supporters did not possess exclusive rights to appreciation of *yamatoe*-style pictures; his original Kano family painted for the imperial palace, and Kano painters generally were adept at *yamatoe*-derived Tosa styles, which even samurai patrons appreciated. Owing to his exceptional talent and both courtier and Kano family connections, Tamechika painted for elite patrons on both sides of the conflict.

Within his repertoire, Tamechika brushed a large number of Buddhist paintings, mainly as commissions for a close friend born in the same year as himself, a Tendai monk called Gankai. Gankai was head priest of Kokawadera, near Wakayama City, the third temple on the Saikoku Kannon pilgrimage circuit, which courtiers had patronized for centuries. Of the numerous paintings Tamechika created for Gankai, two are now owned by the Okura Shūkōka Museum in Tokyo (plates 16, 17).[47] He brushed these paintings at Kokawadera in 1863, where he had been exiled for his courtier status, shortly before his death. Ironically, he was assassinated by an imperial loyalist who misunderstood that a visit he made to the home of a rival faction supporter was to study the latter's ancient art collection and not to conspire about politics.

Plate 16 portrays *The Descent of Amida Buddha over the Mountains* (*Yamagoshi Amida zu*) (Yamagoshi Amida), a traditional subject beloved by devotees of Pure Land beliefs who used this painting to visualize Amida welcoming them to his paradise after death. The style Tamechika used to represent the deities in these paintings indicates that he and the Kimura Ryōtaku lineage shared a similar *yamatoe* heritage (see plate 10). But unlike Kimura paintings, which focus on the figures, Tamechika borrows equally from the *yamatoe* landscape tradition. He devotes fully half the painting to a lyrical rendering of the rolling hills of Japan's countryside in spring, covered with flowering cherry trees, a small herd of deer, and a tumbling waterfall. Such a painting would have been much appreciated by Gankai's courtier patrons, who could envision in it their return after death to the glorious land of their ancestors.

Plate 17 represents a *honji suijaku* mandala showing concordant Shinto and Buddhist deities (*Butsuchōson katsudara amakami minbutsu da kōrin mandara*) in a unique configuration made to the specific instructions of Gankai. Buddhist deities are lined up on the left, and their counterpart Shinto *kami,* many dressed as courtiers, appear on the right. Both groups of figures face inward towards the central section of the picture, which features a circular Buddhist *tahōtō* pagoda with a square roof, a type found at esoteric Buddhist temples (e.g., see fig. 1.5), and in one mandala formation associated with the Tendai sect's *honji suijaku* faith is inhabited by the buddha Dainichi.[48] This buddha is often identified with the sun because he sits at the center of the cosmos bestowing life to the four quarters of the universe through a divine light that emanates from his being. In



Plate 10. Kimura Ryōtaku VI (active second half of the seventeenth century). *The Buddha Shaka and His Attendant Bodhisattvas Fugen and Monju* (*Shaka sanshōzō*), 1671. Hanging scroll; ink, color, and cut-gold leaf (*kirikane*) on silk, 193 × 124 cm. Rinnōji, Nikko.



Plate 11. Sakon Sadatsuna (active 1640s–1680s). *Death of the Buddha* (*Nehan zu*). Hanging scroll; ink, color, and gold on silk, 87 × 166 cm. Saint Louis Art Museum. Purchase: Anonymous gift.



Plate 12. Painting by Kano Tan'yū (1602–1674), inscription by Ingen Ryūki (Ch. Yinyuan Longqi; 1592–1673). *The Buddha Shaka*. Hanging scroll; center of a triptych, ink and colors on silk, 108.9 × 47.8 cm. Manpukuji, Uji. Photograph by author.



Plate 13. Hine Taizan (1813–1869). *Sixteen Rakan,* 1862. Hanging scroll; ink and light colors on satin, 143.5 × 79.4 cm. Lee Institute Permanent Collection, gift of Dr. and Mrs. Robert Feinberg.



Plate 14. Mori Sosen (1747–1821). *The Buddha Shaka Descending from the Mountain* (*Shussan Shaka*). Hanging scroll; ink and light colors on paper, 106.7 × 55 cm. The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, Missouri. Purchase: Nelson Trust, 82-4.



Plate 15. Kikuchi Yōsai (1788–1878). *The Inevitable Change*. Hanging scroll; ink, color, and gold on silk, 116.5 × 53.7 cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, William Sturgis Bigelow Collection.



Plate 16. Reizei Tamechika (1823–1864). *The Descent of Amida Buddha over the Mountains* (*Yamagoshi Amida zu*), 1863. Hanging scroll; ink, colors, and gold on silk, 173.5 × 90 cm. Okura Art Museum, Tokyo.



Plate 17. Reizei Tamechika (1823–1864). *Mandala of Buddhist and Shinto Deities* (*Butsuchōson katsudara amakami minbutsu da kōrin mandara*), 1863. Hanging scroll; ink, colors, and gold on silk, 149.6 × 91.2 cm. Okura Art Museum, Tokyo.



Plate 1. *The Twenty-first Memorial Service for Tokugawa Iemitsu at the Buddhist Hall of the Taiyūin Mausoleum* (*Nikkōzan Midō Haiden zu*), 1671. Rinnōji, Nikkō. Hanging scroll; ink, color, and gold on silk, 121 × 85 cm.



Plate 2. *Cosmic Diagram of Yoshiminedera Temple Precincts* (*Yoshiminedera sankei manadra*), Momoyama or early Edo period; late sixteenth or early seventeenth century. Hanging scroll; ink and colors on paper, 159.8 × 166.4 cm. Yoshiminedera, Kyoto Prefecture.



Plate 3. Utagawa Kuniyoshi (1797–1861). *Roben Waterfall at Ōyama* (*Ōyama Roben no taki*), ca. 1850. Woodblock print triptych in ink and colors on paper, each sheet 36.2 × 76.5 cm. Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, gift of Katherine Ball, 1964.141.1300abc.



Plate 4. *The Temple Compound at Asakusa Sensōji,* first half of the Edo period, early eighteenth century. Single six-panel screen; ink and colors on paper, 137.5 × 338 cm. Tobacco and Salt Museum, Tokyo.



Plate 5. Utagawa Hiroshige III (1842–1894). *Fukagawa Fudōson* (Degaichō of Fudō Myōō on display at Eitaiji, Edo), 1885. Woodblock print in ink and colors on paper, vertical *ōban* format, approx. 38 × 25 cm. Reikōkan, Naritasan Shinshōji, Narita.





Plate 6. *(Above)* Shingan (1647–1706). *Jizō Bodhisattva* at Daienji, Kanazawa, 1700. Wood, crushed bones, polychrome, and gold. Height: 4 m. Photograph by author.

Plate 7. *(Right)* Kano Kazunobu (1816–1863). *Rakan and the Buddhist Hell,* scroll number 23 from a set of *One Hundred Scrolls of the Five Hundred Rakan,* set completed between 1854 and 1863. Hanging scroll; ink and colors on silk, 172.3 × 85.3 cm. Zōjōji, Tokyo. Photograph by author.



Plate 8. *Kumano Heart Visualization and Ten Worlds Mandala* (*Kumano kanjin jikkai mandala*), eighteenth or early nineteenth century. Hanging scroll; ink and colors on paper, 177 × 140 cm (approximate size). Private collection, Japan. Photograph courtesy of Kurushima Hiroshi, National Museum of Japanese History.



Plate 9. Kano Tōhaku (1772–1821). *Scenes from Hell,* 1819. Hanging scroll; ink and colors on silk, 147.3 × 87.7 cm. Clark Family Collection on long-term loan to the Lee Institute, Hanford, California.

this unique mandala, instead of portraying Dainichi beneath the pagoda's roof, he is represented by the pagoda itself. On its side the artist has painted a golden sun disk, a symbol of the Shinto sun goddess Amaterasu, the supreme Shinto deity who was a direct ancestor of the imperial family, which *honji suijaku* theory equates with Dainichi. Thus in this picture, too, the aristocratic patrons of this temple would find many familiar and comforting images.

THE MANY GROUPS and individuals introduced in this chapter owed their success to the large numbers of Edo-period devotees of Buddhism. Although they were all professional makers of religious imagery, great distinctions existed between the ways sculptors and painters approached their craft. The sculptors surveyed here, creating imagery for temples of national importance or for those patronized by wealthy and elite consumers in Japan's main cities, worked in ateliers dedicated expressly to the production of religious images. This occurred because workshop production facilitated the high level of specialized technical skill and division of labor required for the making of these images. In contrast, although some older workshops specializing in Buddhist painting continued to flourish in the Edo period, many artists best known for secular subjects also began to produce Buddhist imagery, sometimes intending their creations for display in nonreligious settings. Although earlier artists had also occasionally represented Buddhist subjects in secular art, characteristic of Edo-period aesthetic attitudes, artists injected a greater sense of humor in their portrayals, indicating a deepening encroachment of secular values into religious life.

Also, sculptors generally made imagery for patrons of various sectarian affiliations, only occasionally modifying their styles to meet the stylistic requirements of temples of different sects and patronage circles, and the hand of individual makers within these workshops would frequently be difficult to discern without inscriptions or documentation. In contrast, the styles of professional Buddhist painters, especially the independent artists working in the late Edo period, were vastly more personal and more related to the distinct tastes of specific patrons or social groups of clients, who in turn were attracted to particular artists who shared their worldview and political beliefs. But like the sculptors, they, too, generally worked for patrons of various sects, a factor that both reflected and contributed to the syncretic nature of Buddhist practice at that time. Nevertheless, these artists represent only one group of Buddhist image-makers of the early modern period. Chapter 6 introduces others whose involvement stemmed from deeper personal engagement with the faith.

Chapter Six

Expressions of Faith

THIS CHAPTER SURVEYS visual imagery by devout followers of Buddhism during the early modern period. The makers of these images came from all sectors of society and lived in both urban and rural locales. None sold these objects for personal gain. Some trained in studios of professional, secular artists while others were entirely self-taught. Their motivations also varied widely according to personal inclinations and professional needs. Those from affluent families often participated in devotional practices that required great effort over long periods of time; their wealth allowed them the freedom to do so. Their images were prayers for amassing karmic merit in the afterlife for deceased loved ones or were intended to assist temples in furthering the spread of Buddhism more widely. Mendicant monks and others affiliated with temples used imagery they created to propagate Buddhism or distributed it to serve as foci for believers' prayers. The quantity, quality, and variety of these visual expressions of faith eloquently testify to Buddhism's ability to inspire artistic creativity among devout professional and amateur artists throughout the era.

Only a few of the clerics and devout laity introduced in this chapter grew famous for their imagery during their lifetimes. Of those who did, writers of their day admired them for their piety and for offering inspiration to believers, but except for the few acknowledged as professional artists, their visual imagery was not considered art. Appreciation for the artistic qualities of their creations began only during the twentieth century. For the most part, their imagery remains marginalized from that which constitutes the orthodox canon of Japanese art history. This is especially true for art by the more self-effacing, reclusive

of these individuals, such as imperial nuns and daimyo wives, and imagery by itinerant clerics for lowly commoners of outlying villages.

Imagery by Imperial Clerics and Elite Samurai

The education of Japan's upper classes and wealthy commoners always included calligraphy and, usually, its sister art of brush painting. Most men learned the academic Kano manner, taught at official domain academies and in privately run studios throughout Japan. The shogun Tokugawa Tsunayoshi, for example, brushed pictures of Kannon (see fig. 1.6) for Yoshiminedera in this style, as did the Kanazawa monk Shingan (whose sculpture of Jizō was discussed in chap. 4; see plate 6). Imperial family members often took the tonsure for financial or political expediency, but for many the motivation stemmed from a sincerity of faith and led them to spend their days creating devotional imagery. The tonsured close relatives of Emperor Gomizunoo produced some of the finest and most unusual of these images. Often they studied with his distinguished Buddhist teachers and important artists whom he patronized.

One of Gomizunoo's grandsons, Tenjin Hoshin'nō (1664–1690), became the fifty-sixth abbot and the second imperial abbot at the Tendai (*monzeki*) temple of Rinnōji in Nikkō in 1680.[1] Records indicate his interest in Buddhism and scholarly pursuits from his youth. He became adept in the professional Buddhist painting style of the Kimura lineage (see plate 10), whose artists brushed the icons for his temple. His *Thousand-Armed Kannon* (plate 18), completed in 1689, displays his mastery of meticulous techniques for applying ink, colors, and cut-gold leaf (*kirikane*) to both the deity and its surrounding hand-painted mounting. Befitting his status, Hoshin'nō learned both the art of calligraphy and painting in his youth; Rinnōji owns other examples of his artistic aptitude.[2]

Eight of Gomizunoo's thirteen daughters and thirteen of his granddaughters became nuns (Fister 2003, 17). The impressive quantity and quality of the devotional imagery these women created resulted in large part from their observance of the tenets of the Lotus Sutra. Women most frequently copied this sutra because one section of it describes Kannon delivering a sermon to women, stating that in exchange for their devout belief he would liberate them from suffering in their next lives. The sutra advised that spiritual merit could accrue from copying its text and creating devotional images based on it. Consequently, devotion to Kannon and the abundant production of Kannon images were especially popular among women (Fister 2003, 18). In some of Kannon's thirty-three forms described in the Lotus Sutra, based on Chinese prototypes and derived from newly invented later Chinese forms of the deity, s/he appears as a woman. As expected, these manifestations found particular favor among women practitioners of Buddhism, for whom they were primarily invented.

The religious art of imperial nuns has been the subject of investigation by the scholar Patricia Fister in an ongoing series of books and articles.[3] Her studies reveal that these nuns demonstrated their piety in extraordinary ways. For example, Daitsū Bunchi (1619–1697), Emperor Gomizunoo's eldest child, created large numbers of devotional imagery in various conventional media, including embroidery and painting. But she also utilized unorthodox materials, which she incorporated into elegant reliquaries: characters from sacred sutras "written" with her father's discarded fingernail clippings and sacred characters written in ink on small pieces of her own mutilated skin.[4] Another of these nuns, Ryōnen Gensō (1646–1711), a lady-in-waiting to Empress Tōfukumon'in and a gifted poet and calligrapher, burned her face to disfigure it when the master of the Ōbaku temple she wanted to enter refused her admittance on the grounds that her beauty would distract the monks.[5]

One of the most prolific of these nuns was Shōzan Gen'yō (1634–1727), another daughter of Emperor Gomizunoo. She became an Ōbaku nun upon her father's death under the guidance of Ryōkei, her father's Zen teacher. Her complete devotion to Kannon and to the Lotus Sutra inspired her to create large numbers of images of this deity as a prayer for her father's salvation. Accounts by celebrated Ōbaku monks of her day lauded her efforts and reported that she brushed 1,000 paintings and fashioned 3,330 tiny statues of Kannon (Fister 2001, 2003). These statues and paintings, they noted, she gave away freely to people from all levels of society, despite the fact that she lived a sequestered existence in a nunnery (Fister 2001, 87–90). She seems to have been self-taught as a sculptor and used a mold (a technique she may have learned from Ōbaku monks) to create her images with dried, powdered leaves from the aromatic and sacred *shikimi* plant, long used as incense for Japanese Buddhist ceremonies (Fister 2001, 79–80).

Gen'yō's paintings reveal her unusual (for a woman) study of Kano school painting. In fact, befitting her high status, she was instructed by prominent Kano artists Yasunobu (see fig. 4.11) and Takuhō Dōshū. Typical of Gen'yō's paintings is her *White-Robed Kannon* (fig. 6.1), done in the classic Kano style for Buddhist imagery perfected by Tan'yū (see plate 12) in its combination of dark, fluid, and angular brushwork, dramatic application of ink washes, and sensitively defined, serene facial expression. This painting, now in the public Ikeda City Historical Museum, was probably originally owned by the daimyo Aoki Shigekane of the Asada domain, also a follower of Ōbaku (Fister 2003, 41).

High-ranking aristocratic and samurai women's educations included training in calligraphy and sewing because of their practical necessity and because such skills reflected a person's character and etiquette. Because of their station in society, these women generally had abundant leisure time to create elegant personal devotional objects in these familiar media. Tōfukumon'in, Emperor Gomizunoo's wife and a devout Buddhist, often commissioned sculptors of the



6.1. Shōzan Gen'yō (1634–1727). *White-Robed Kannon*. Hanging scroll; ink and light color on silk, 126.2 × 68.2 cm. Ikeda City Historical Museum.

finest studios in Kyoto to craft personal reliquaries for her.[6] She also made devotional imagery herself, including the example in plate 19 of an unusual form of Kannon as the wife of Master Ma (Jp. Merōfu; Ch. Malangfu), closely related to another feminine form, Kannon with a fish basket (Ch. Yulan; Jp. Gyoran). This object, the central image in a wooden shrine (*zushi*), is actually not a sculpture or painting but a fabric-wrapped paper collage (*oshie*), a traditional craft made by

upper-class Japanese women and a medium that Tōfukumon'in often used for the depiction of secular subjects, primarily immortal poets.[7] Kannon, as a beautiful young woman, appears deep in thought, reading a scroll with hair tied up in the fashion of a proper Japanese lady and dressed in a secular robe rather than the garb of a conventional bodhisattva. As Fister has uncovered, this one closely resembles others made by women in the circle of Emperor Gomizunoo and was modeled loosely after a late twelfth- or early thirteenth-century Chinese painting long known in Japan (Fister 2005, 591–592; and n.d.). Tofukumon'in seems to have been the first to create the figural type, which her daughter, Empress Meishō (1624–1696), and Shōzan Gen'yō emulated. Tofukumon'in donated this image, apparently her first and most important version of the subject, to a Rinzai Zen temple she and her husband patronized, Eigenji, in Shiga Prefecture. Temple records indicate she incorporated into it a lock of her own hair, a self-sacrificing, meritorious deed popular among women devotees.[8]

Sometimes these women copied sutras into beautifully crafted scrolls and books that professional artisans made for them out of paper embedded with gold flecks, decorated with cut-gold line dividers and delicate gold drawings of sacred flowers. One fine example of this type is a set of thirty-three small folding books of the complete Lotus Sutra by Jishōin (1619–1700), wife of the third Hiroshima daimyo, Asano Mitsuakira (fig. 6.2). Jishōin had an impeccable pedigree as the second daughter of the wealthy third Maeda daimyo, Toshitsune (who had restored Natadera; see fig. 2.8), and his wife Tentoku'in, who was the second daughter of the second shogun, Tokugawa Hidetada. Jishōin copied the Lotus Sutra many times throughout her life, donating her efforts to various temples.[9] A group of these, including that shown in fig. 6.2, is today owned by the Nichiren sect affiliate temple of Kokuzenji in Hiroshima, which became, on her behalf, her daimyo clan's mortuary temple in 1656.[10] However, temple records make no mention of the date for when these materials came into its possession. As a daimyo wife, Jishōin was required to live in Edo, so these texts were probably donated to the temple in her memory after her death.[11] The first page of each volume contains charming colored pictures she had brushed, in the figure, two Celestial Beings (Skt. Apsara; Jp. Hiten), dancers, and musicians (one plays sacred music on a flute, the other on a drum) who float about the heavens. The quality of the decorated paper suggests that the book itself had been produced in her father's domain of Kaga in Kanazawa, famous for such fine crafts using gold. Other sutra copies by her at Kokuzenji are contained in specially made gold-decorated lacquer boxes in Kaga style.

Unlike the devotional efforts of daimyo wives like Jishōin who created imagery in the privacy of their homes, some elite lay believers produced more publicly acclaimed devotional imagery. One of the most celebrated of these efforts was by Katō Nobukiyo (1734–1810), a samurai official of the Tokugawa shogunate



6.2. Jishōin (1619–1700). *Celestial Beings* (*Hiten*). Page from a folding book including the text of the Lotus Sutra; ink, colors, and gold on paper, approx. 20 × 12 cm. Kokuzenji, Hiroshima. Photograph by author.

in Edo. His zealousness led him to sequester himself from family and friends for five years, from 1788 to 1792, during which time he created a remarkable set of five hundred Rakan in fifty paintings of ten Rakan each, and a scroll of Shaka, Fugen, and Monju, all of which he dedicated to the Edo temple Ryūkōji (plate 20).[12]

Nobukiyo followed the composition and figure style of a famous set of Five Hundred Rakan paintings by Minchō in Tōfukuji, Kyoto.[13] His accomplished manner of painting betrays familiarity with Kano school painting, which he must have studied in his youth.[14] However, despite the superficial adherence of Nobukiyo's paintings to Minchō's model, they differ from it in two important ways: Nobukiyo's colors are more lightly applied and transparent, softening the overall effect, and, more significantly, as seen in figure 6.3, he fashioned every line, shape, and colored area with minute characters from the Lotus Sutra. This pairing of the Lotus Sutra with the Five Hundred Rakan is a wonderful example



6.3. *Detail.* Katō Nobukiyo (1734–1810). *Heads of Two Rakan,* from *Ten Rakan Examining a Painting of White-Robed Kannon,* one scroll from a set of fifty paintings portraying the Five Hundred Rakan, the buddha Shaka, and his attendant bodhisattvas Fugen and Monju, set completed between 1788 and 1792. Hanging scroll; ink, color, and gold on paper, 130.3 × 57.7 cm. Mary and Jackson Burke Foundation. Photograph: Carl Nardiello.

of the trans-sectarian nature of Japanese religious practice. The Lotus Sutra is closely associated with both the Tendai and Nichiren sects, which especially revere its teachings, while the Five Hundred Rakan, though mentioned in the Lotus Sutra, became more widely venerated in Japan as a result of their importance within the Zen sects.

Creating Buddhist imagery using characters from sutras dates back to at least the twelfth century. An under-drawing for a painting of this type by Kano Tan'yū also survives, indicating that artists trained in Kano ateliers were familiar with the practice. So it must have been a known form of devotional practice in Nobukiyo's day for which artists trained in Kano establishments created imagery.[15] But the large scale of Nobukiyo's set is unprecedented. Documents of Nobukiyo's day indicate that the prominent Zen priest of Shōkokuji in Kyoto, Daiten Kenjō (1719–1801), friend of Ike Taiga and Itō Jakuchū (discussed below), praised Nobukiyo for his efforts (Asaoka 1983, 1174). Even after completing this monumental task, Nobukiyo continued with his devotional practice: two similar scrolls have recently been found in temple collections.[16] Pious deeds like his and those of other monks attached to elite samurai-sponsored temples, such as Shijō at Kitain in Kawagoe (see fig. 4.7) and the official painter Kano Kazunobu (see

plate 7), inspired religious belief in the broader population during the turbulent late Edo period.

Art by Clerics for Commoner Devotees

Prior discussion of temples and popular religious beliefs has already introduced some devout clerics who created their own religious imagery: for example, Kaseki Shōnin of Kuhon Butsu Jōshinji in Edo (see fig. 1.10); Shōun Genkei, the Ōbaku monk who sculpted statues of the Five Hundred Rakan for his temple in Edo (see fig. 2.7); and Shingan, of Daienji in Kanazawa, who was so moved by the plight of the numerous unidentified and forgotten deceased that he created a statue of Jizō using their crushed bones (see plate 6). Other clerics, whose names have been forgotten, distributed to worshipers woodblock-printed amulets they crafted themselves (see fig. 4.18), made sacred mandalas of their precincts (see plate 2), or, as in the case of the Kumano nuns, brushed pictures to augment their teachings (see plate 8).

Both the quantity and variety of the sacred imagery produced by clerics ministering to commoners far outnumbered that by the relatively small number of imperial clerics. Even the Rinzai Zen sect, previously patronized by wealthy and powerful elite samurai and aristocrats, began to reach out to commoners and to followers of other sects. The Rinzai master most responsible for this shift, and one whose influence has persevered into the modern era, was Hakuin Ekaku (1685–1768).[17] Hakuin's home temple lay in a small village at the foot of Mount Fuji in eastern Japan. Nevertheless, he studied with Zen masters associated with Kyoto's great monasteries who instilled in him an awareness of the importance of the study of literature and calligraphy to Zen training. During his formative years, Hakuin traveled widely, preaching to people from all sectors of society and tailoring his sermons to his audience. Consequently, his teachings appealed just as much to rural peasants as to sophisticated and learned urbanites. One of his intellectual acquaintances from Kyoto was the *nanga* painter Ike Taiga (discussed below), who in 1758 contributed the cover, title, and epilogue to a five-volume compilation of Hakuin's writings (Takeuchi 1983, 161).

Hakuin was a prolific painter in his later years, well known for his works in a style now known as Zenga (Zen painting). He began to create his characteristic, vibrant painting and calligraphy only in his sixties, after realizing that such efforts could convey his ideas about religion in ways that his sermons could not. His pictures and calligraphic scrolls blended Buddhist and Confucian ideologies. Their themes encouraged compassion and adherence to moral values, sometimes to inspire devotees to lead a good life so as to be reborn in paradise after death — a concept not usually associated with Zen, whose followers believe in enlightenment in this world, but rather with the Pure Land sects. Simultane-

ously, some devotees used his scrolls as talismans, like *ōtsue,* to ensure that they could overcome difficulties in this lifetime.

Hakuin often portrayed traditional Zen themes such as Daruma (Skt. Bodhidharma), the founder of Zen, or compassionate deities, especially Kannon. But he also brushed figures associated with other popular Buddhist traditions and with folk beliefs. In all cases, his imagery displays his originality, knowledge of sophisticated cultural traditions, and sense of humor, as seen in his *Seven Gods of Good Fortune* (see fig. 4.13). In this painting he portrays this motley group as actors performing a classical Nō play (a theatrical form for elite audiences) titled *Shōki,* featuring this king of the underworld (Pollard and Stevens 2006, 45).

In terms of pictorial style, as typified by his *Seven Gods of Good Fortune,* Hakuin used a deceptively simple, bold, self-taught manner that delighted his commoner audience. Scholars suggest he borrowed this style from obscure amateur painters. Yet his sophisticated calligraphic style shows his incorporation of elements associated with a prestigious lineage of courtier calligraphers (Rosenfield 1999, 3:21). Despite the undeniable power of Hakuin's paintings and his importance as a great Zen master, he was not a professional artist who painted for the elite of Japanese society. That fact must account for the glaring omission of his art from designation by the Japanese government as Important Cultural Properties, and for the fact that few of his images are owned by national museums (Yamashita 2003a, 213). His work has been far more appreciated in the West, however, and this is beginning to affect the way the Japanese perceive him (Yamashita et al. 2000).

Hakuin's artistic influence extended to Buddhist masters unaffiliated with the Rinzai sect, who adopted the Zen-style imagery that he popularized. One of these non-Zen religious teachers who created Zenga was Jiun Onkō (1718–1804), a Shingon monk famous as a calligrapher and painter and as a Buddhist reformer.[18] As influential Buddhist teachers and prolific writers, both Hakuin and Jiun are well researched by religious studies scholars, and yet surprisingly, until recent examination by art historians, the importance these clerics attached to calligraphic scrolls and paintings as vehicles for transmission of their teachings, especially among the common people, has remained overlooked.

Born into the family of a masterless samurai (*rōnin*) in Osaka, Jiun's early study steeped him in samurai values of Confucianism and also, because of the particular interests of his parents, in Shinto and Shingon Buddhism. His early studies of these diverse philosophies inspired his conception of a new syncretic religious creed, the True Doctrine of Discipline (Shōbōritsu), which incorporated aspects of all three traditions. By the time of his death, Jiun's school of Buddhism had attracted a large following, with twenty-eight temples, several hundred clerics, and ten thousand lay followers in the Osaka and Kyoto areas (Rosenfield 1999, 3:40). Like Hakuin's calligraphy and painting, Jiun's date mainly



6.4. Jiun Onkō (1718–1804). *Daruma*. Hanging scroll; ink on paper, 123.4 × 55.4 cm. Collection of Sylvan Barnet and William Burto, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

from his later years, after he retired in 1776, and they owe more to Zen than to Shingon (Addiss 1989, 157). More famous as a calligrapher than painter, Jiun composed many of his paintings with the same kinds of brushstrokes used for calligraphy. Many portray Daruma seated with his back to the viewer during nine years spent deep in meditation before the wall of a cave while attempting to attain enlightenment. Jiun frequently formed this image with minimalist verve (fig. 6.4). Here he creates the image with only three bold brushstrokes in his characteristic ragged-edged, dry-brush style. Above the figure hover two large characters, “Don’t Know” (*fushiki*). This phrase refers to words uttered during a famous conversation between Daruma, just prior to embarking on this long period of meditation, and a sixth-century Chinese emperor who wanted to

know who was this person (Daruma) who sat before him. In response, Daruma cryptically and enigmatically replied, "Don't know."[19]

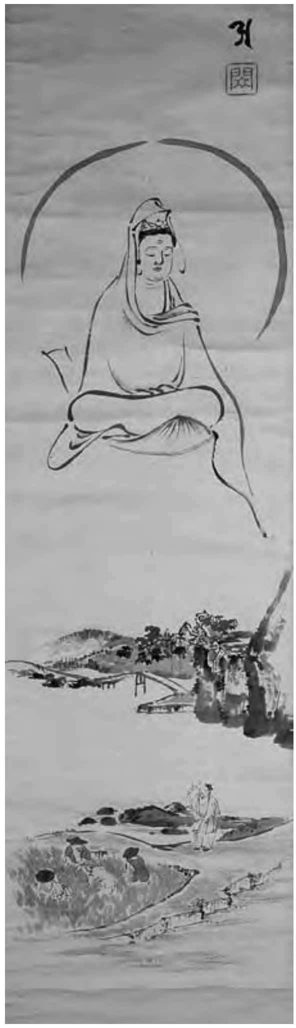
Late in the Edo period, paintings by another Shingon-trained monk, Wada Gozan (aka Gesshin, 1800–1870), showed that even within the orthodox Shingon hierarchy new artistic styles and a tendency towards syncretism proliferated. Gozan formally studied painting under the tutelage of the Maruyama-school painter Mori Tessan and became a Shingon monk at the late age of forty-one, soon after the deaths of both his wife and father.[20] In 1854, he became abbot of Jinkōin, a small Shingon temple in Kyoto. He offered his temple as sanctuary to artists and political activists loyal to the emperor, including Reizei Tamechika (see plates 16 and 17) and Ōtagaki Rengetsu (1791–1875), a celebrated, multitalented Kyoto artist—*waka* poet, painter, calligrapher, and potter—who took vows as a Shingon nun while in residence at Jinkōin during the final ten years of her life.[21]

Gozan was a talented, eclectic painter capable of working in different styles, depending on the intended use and recipient of his paintings. For temple teachings requiring hieratic imagery, he occasionally created polished and dignified paintings incorporating the Maruyama school emphasis on naturalism, evident in his *Mandala of the Sutra of Radiant Victorious Kings* (Skt. *Suvarnaprabhāsa sūtra;* Jp. *Dai konkōmyō saishōō kyō*) (fig. 6.5).[22] Ever since Emperor Shōmu had copies of this sutra distributed to state-supported monasteries in 741 it has been closely associated with the imperial court and in fact was the focus of a series of annual lectures held at the imperial palace for five days in the fifth month.[23] So it is not too surprising that Gozan, an imperial loyalist, chose to paint, and probably lecture on, this sutra. For more personal and informal paintings he reverted to the more popular *ōtsue* or Zenga styles. Records indicate that he brushed a picture of White-Robed Kannon daily as an act of devotion, probably giving these to parishioners in exchange for donations. One example of this latter type, the *White-Robed Kannon Hovering over Farmers Toiling in a Field* (fig. 6.6) was likely given by Gozan to a local farmer as a prayer for safe harvest.

Not all monk-artists were important teachers or heads of their own temples. Some who served the spiritual needs of villagers in remote provinces were itinerant priests affiliated with the mountain-climbing Shugendō sects. They created visual imagery as amateur practitioners, and this imagery reflected the needs of the rural populace and their own very different temperaments and artistic inclinations. These monks continued to follow ancient, secret ascetic precepts that both they and the villagers they met believed empowered them to commune with divinity. One of their vows stipulated that they create multiple representations of Buddhist deities, which they learned to do largely through self-instruction rather than formal training. By the late Edo period, these monk-artists regularly performed a host of rituals to help people through difficult



6.5. Wada Gozan (aka Gesshin, 1800–1870). *Mandala of the Sutra of Radiant Victorious Kings* (*Dai konkōmyō saishōō kyō*). Hanging scroll; ink, light colors, and gold on silk, approx. 130 × 60 cm. Jinkōin, Kyoto, on long-term loan to the Kyoto National Museum. Photograph by author.



6.6. Wada Gozan (aka Gesshin 1800–1870). *White-Robed Kannon Hovering over Farmers Toiling in a Field*. Hanging scroll; ink on paper, approx. 80 × 35. cm. Yabumoto collection, Amagasaki. Photograph by author.

stages in their lives, guarantee abundant harvests, and exorcise demonic spirits. They also presided over funerals and memorial services. The images they created were the focus of these rites, became objects of worship at local temples, or were used by their followers as protective talismans.

The most famous and among the earliest of these amateur monk-artists active in the Edo period was Enkū Shōnin (1628–1695), nominally a Tendai cleric



6.7. Enkū (1628–1695). *Two-Faced Sukuna* (*Ryōmen Sukuna*). Wood. Height: 87.5 cm. Senkōji, Takayama.

who carved over one hundred thousand statues during his lifetime. Enkū's style is evident in his statue of the Two-Faced Sukuna, the legendary warrior-founder of the mountainside Shingon-sect temple of Senkōji, outside Takayama (fig. 6.7). This image, one of his most famous sculptures, was one of over sixty done late in his life for this temple, with which he had a close relationship.

The appeal today of art by Enkū and other self-taught monk-artists working apart from the *busshi* system of professional Buddhist sculptors is largely due to Yanagi Sōetsu (alt. Muneyoshi, 1889–1961), a well-educated, Tokyo-born intellectual who, together with several potter friends, founded the *mingei* (folkcraft) movement to celebrate arts and crafts made by hand for the common people. Soon after Yanagi began promoting Enkū in the 1950s, others started appreciating his seemingly primitive sculpture, often for its affinity with modernist art.[24]

Yanagi developed his appreciation for arts he defined as *mingei* by synthesizing Buddhist beliefs, particularly those associated with the Zen and Pure Land sects, with Western discourses on mysticism, populism, and social activism that were popular in Japanese intellectual circles in the early twentieth century. He also incorporated aspects of the then fashionable British arts and crafts movement, whose followers deplored the increase in industrialized mass-production for crafts and idealized products made by hand.[25] Yanagi believed *mingei* to be imbued with a natural spirituality and that the makers' sincere faith and sensitivity to the natural materials from which they were made rendered them superior to crafts and fine arts created by professional artists working on commission for the wealthy and elite of society.

Yanagi revered Enkū, who, he asserted, created sculpture out of a deep sense of religious commitment, shunned high-class styles, eschewed foreign influences, and worked intuitively from the heart. Yanagi appreciated the handmade individualism of Enkū's carvings, with their rough chisel marks and lack of embellishments using expensive materials. He felt these qualities indicated the monk's sincerity and selflessness, traits essential to attainment of enlightenment. Yet these very qualities set Enkū's work apart from other, generally anonymous arts usually defined as *mingei.* As the scholar Donald McCallum has noted, *mingei* "is invariably characterized by the strongest attachment to tradition. . . . [W]hile it is true that Enkū had strong connections with the peasantry, it is not the case that his sculpture is traditional or conservative" (1974a, 175). Enkū's art is simply too original. He carefully considered the aesthetic presence of his sculptures, which are characterized by accentuation of the original blocklike form of the wood he carved, asymmetry and abstraction in his subjects' features and bodily forms, and a surface self-consciously textured by hatchet strokes (McCallum 1974, 175–176). The hatchet-carving (*natabori*) technique he employed had first been used by Buddhist sculptors of the late Heian period who worked in Japan's eastern provinces, near the regions Enkū traversed. Japanese scholars have just recently acknowledged his revival of this ancient technique and for the first time featured his art together with older works in this manner in a recent blockbuster exhibition at the Tokyo National Museum (Tokyo Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan 2006b, pl. 43–52).

Yanagi first became interested in self-taught religious sculptors like Enkū through his discovery, in 1924, of the Shingon monk Mokujiki Myōman (alt. Mokujiki Gyōdō or Gogyō, 1718–1810), who carved statues in a style related to but distinctly different from that of Enkū.[26] In fact, Yanagi's appreciation of Mokujiki helped shape his early conceptualization of *mingei* theory. Prior to his interest in Mokujiki, Yanagi had traveled to Korea to study the folkcraft traditions there and to establish a museum of Korean folkcrafts, made possible by the colonization of Korea by the Japanese Imperial Army. Recent scholar-

ship on Yanagi's study of Mokujiki has revealed that his interest in this artist stemmed from his desire to identify an indigenous Japanese artistic tradition with no influences from continental Asia. He and others celebrated Mokujiki as a means of advancing a budding interest in Japanese cultural nationalism, further developed in the 1930s. In this, Yanagi's definition of *mingei* as a native Japanese artistic tradition aligned neatly with and supported the Japanese military's imperialist and nationalist agendas.[27]

Mokujiki, from Yamanashi Prefecture in central Japan, became a Shingon monk at age twenty-two. At age forty-five he accepted new vows and changed his name to that by which he is known today. His stringent ascetic vows involved fasting for long periods and allowed eating only wild plants, berries, nuts, and barks of trees (lit. *mokujiki*). When he was fifty-six, he took another vow to become a wandering pilgrim, and he tirelessly traversed the country for the next thirty years offering assistance and inspiration to the peasants he encountered. He and others like him became virtuous models for poor peasants, whose diet was sometimes reduced to the same wild fare due to famines and pestilence during the late Edo period.

Mokujiki began carving his distinctive and instantly appealing wooden images of Buddhist deities late in life, around age sixty, as offerings to temples he had visited or founded along his way. Scholars estimate he produced around three thousand images in all; if this number is correct, then he completed around three hundred a year, or one every three days (Asahi Shinbunsha 1997, 166). Mokujiki seems to have been better educated and more interested in writing than the average itinerant monk. He kept a meticulous travel diary that survives and provides illuminating insights into religious practices of his day, outlining ten vows required of *mokujiki* practitioners (Yuji Ikeda 1999, 60–61). He also brushed numerous scrolls of sacred deities and calligraphy, often composed in Sanskrit, which monks of the Shingon sect had studied.[28]

In 1800, at age eighty-three, Mokujiki ended his wanderings and returned to his native village. In response to pleas from the villagers there, he embarked on a project to carve buddhas of the eighty-eight temples along the Shikoku pilgrimage route and install them in a Shikoku Hall (Shikokudō) within his village, thus allowing the people there to traverse the Shikoku pilgrimage circuit without journeying from home, a practice that had become extremely popular by that time. It took him nearly a year to complete all the statues. Unfortunately, in 1919 the statues were sold off, and the whereabouts of nearly half remain unknown today. In 1923 Yanagi Sōetsu began to study these statues and published his research in 1925 (Yanagi 1925). He later acquired two statues from this group for his Japan Folk Crafts Museum (Nihon Mingeikan) in Tokyo, which opened in 1936, and at around the same time one artist whom he influenced, the potter Kawai Kanjirō (1890–1966), acquired another, a statue of the buddha Shaka



6.8. Mokujiki Myōman (1718–1810). *Shaka,* 1801. Wood. Height: 72 cm. Kawai Kanjirō Memorial Hall, Kyoto.

(fig. 6.8).[29] Although the rough, unpainted, and clearly identifiable carving style that Mokujiki perfected is certainly related to that of Enkū, recent scholars have noted that it also betrays awareness of sculptural styles of professional carvers, especially that of the Chinese Ōbaku artist Han Dōsei and notably that artist's preference for elongated heads; large, exaggerated, snail-shell curls of hair; prominent, rounded cheeks; and heavy-lidded, closed eyes (see fig. 4.5). Mokujiki's travels took him for one year to Nagasaki, where he had the opportunity to see Ōbaku sculptures at the city's Chinese temples, and to Uji, where Manpukuji is located (Rosenfield 1999, 3:64; Asahi Shinbunsha 1997, 167–168).

Another wandering Buddhist cleric, Yokoi Kinkoku (1761–1832), born in a small town near Kyoto, created a very different kind of devotional imagery. Kinkoku was an eccentric individual of varied talents, mostly self-taught as a painter of both landscapes and figures. He often sold or bartered his paintings in exchange for food and lodgings.[30] As a youth, Kinkoku went to Edo to train at Zōjōji for a career as a Jōdo sect priest to carry on his father's profession, but the temple eventually expelled him for debauchery. Later he returned to his training

and briefly headed a Jōdo temple near Kyoto. But at age forty-three, after fire destroyed his temple, he decided to join the Shugendō sect, to which he remained devoted for the rest of his life. As a Shugendō practitioner, Kinkoku embarked on many pilgrimages to Japan's sacred peaks to deepen his spiritual awareness and as a guide for others. He eventually settled in a village near Nagoya, where his bohemian manner held great appeal for the villagers, who believed his devotion to Shugendō marked him as enlightened and possessing special curative powers. Indeed, Kinkoku himself believed and promoted the idea that his landscapes, such as that shown in figure 6.9, captured the spirit of the places he visited in pictorial form so they could serve as protective amulets to keep his local parishioners safe from harm (Fister 1988, 174). The popularity of Kinkoku's paintings is evident from the large body of his work that has survived. He painted in the *nanga* style, which, by his day, had become popular nationwide among a broad assortment of artists and art patrons, both professionals and, like himself, self-taught amateurs. Kinkoku must have been attracted to this style because literati lore promoted the idea that paintings in this manner captured the painter's inner spirit. Kinkoku's gift was to make this Chinese literati painting tradition, once closely associated with Sinophile intellectuals, accessible to the common country folk in whose midst he lived.

Manifestations of Piety by Professional Artists

As seen in chapter 5, Buddhist imagery figured in the commercial repertoire of many urban-based secular professional artists working for prosperous clientele. Sometimes, though, they created Buddhist devotional imagery for personal reasons using the artistic styles for which they had become known professionally. In some cases these images closely resembled their work for paying clients; in others, the complexity, scope, and subjects of their endeavors distinguished these works as inspired devotional objects.

Hon'ami Kōetsu (1558–1637) helped to revive interest in the courtly culture of the Heian period during the early seventeenth century through his art, which featured celebrated courtly themes portrayed with the use of stunning, decorative visual effects. The style he helped establish has come to be known as Rinpa ("school of Kōrin," one of the greatest masters of this tradition who was active in the Genroku era). Kōetsu's Kyoto-based family had, for several generations, played an important role in the life of elite warriors as specialists in the craft of polishing and evaluating sword blades. Kōetsu continued this family tradition while he developed expertise in other cultivated pursuits like the *chanoyu* tea ceremony and the stately Nō theater, whose libretti he enjoyed reading aloud with a group of friends and also copying. His patrons and associates with mutual interests included the first three Maeda daimyo, as well as several of their



6.9. Yokoi Kinkoku (1761–1832). *Solitary Path through the Cold Mountains and Myriad Trees,* 1811. Hanging scroll; ink and light colors on paper, 159.4 × 83.7 cm. The Gitter-Yelen Collection, New Orleans.



6.10. Calligraphy by Hon'ami Kōetsu (1558–1637); designs by Tawaraya Sōtatsu (d. ca. 1640). Poems from the *One Hundred Poems by One Hundred Poets* (*Hyakunin isshu*), with designs of lotus blossoms. Handscroll fragment mounted as a hanging scroll; ink and gold on paper, 32.8 × 60.3 cm. Mary and Jackson Burke Foundation. Photograph: Chris Burke.

retainers (Fischer et al. 2000, 15). He was also acquainted with and favored by the first Tokugawa shogun, Ieyasu. Family records describe him as "a man of many talents, devoted to his family, deeply religious, humble about his own reputation, and content with the life of reclusion in the hills north of the capital" (Fischer et al. 2000, 14).

Kōetsu first began setting up his northern Kyoto retreat in 1615, at a place traditionally known as Takagamine (Hawk Hill; the site is now the temple Kōetsuji). It owed its existence to a land grant from Tokugawa Ieyasu, probably as thanks for support that Kōetsu's father had offered the shogun when Ieyasu was a child (Fischer et al. 2000, 20). Kōetsu lived there with a number of other family members, close friends, and artisan associates. Scholars have long believed that this settlement of fifty-five households was an artists' colony, but recent research has uncovered evidence that it was more a community of devotees dedicated to upholding the precepts of the rigorous teachings of the Hokke (Lotus) sect, another name for the Nichiren sect, to which Kōetsu's family had belonged since the time of his great-grandfather.[31] The importance Kōetsu attached to construction of temple buildings at Takagimine has suggested to scholars that he intended his community to serve as the Hokke sect's idealized Land of Eternal Buddhist Light, where followers could achieve happiness and salvation in their lifetimes (Cranston 2000, 120–121). The calligraphic scrolls created during

Kōetsu's Takagamine years bear this out, for they include many copies of Buddhist texts written by the sect's founder, Nichiren (1228–1282), which he copied as expressions of personal devotion.

Of the many arts at which Kōetsu excelled, he is best known for his calligraphy, especially that which he created at Takagamine in collaboration with the painter Tawaraya Sōtatsu (d. ca. 1640), co-founder of the Rinpa school. Together they produced the now cut-up handscroll of *Poems from the "One Hundred Poems by One Hundred Poets"* (*Hyakunin isshu*), largely Buddhist-infused ruminations on the transience and beauty of life (fig. 6.10).[32] This poetry compilation may have originally been assembled by the courtier Fujiwara Teika (1162–1241) while living in a retreat himself. Unlike other ancient courtly poetic anthologies that enjoyed considerable fame continuously since their production, this one seems to have grown popular only in the early seventeenth century, first among elite samurai aficionados of *chanoyu,* which included Kōetsu, who in fact helped produce the first woodblock-printed copy of the *One Hundred Poems* text.[33] Sōtatsu painted the under-drawing of this elegant and lengthy scroll, composed of paper dyed different colors, with a series of pictures in delicate gold and silver ink. He portrayed the life cycle of Buddhism's sacred plant, the lotus, probably at the request of Kōetsu. Scholars have dated the scroll stylistically to the early years of Kōetsu's residency at Takagamine, perhaps soon after the death of his mother in 1618, and they believe he intended it as a prayer for her salvation (Murase 2000, 212).

Followers of the Rinpa tradition after Kōetsu generally displayed little interest in the intense Buddhist devotion of their school's founder and instead filled their paintings with gorgeously decorative images of the natural world and romantic themes from ancient courtly tales. When they occasionally did paint religious subjects, they used a traditional figural style. This holds true even for the great reviver of the tradition in Edo, Sakai Hōitsu (1761–1828), the wealthy second son of a powerful daimyo family who became ordained as a Jōdo-sect monk at the age of thirty-seven, though he apparently took the tonsure claiming ill health in order to free himself from familial obligations.[34]

Kōetsu created his Buddhist-inspired devotional imagery for private, personal reasons, in the seclusion of a religious community, a typically pious man's response to the turmoil at the beginning of the Edo period. By the mid-Edo era, peace prevailed. In this more settled time another devout artist, Itō Jakuchū (1716–1800), created magnificently eccentric sacred imagery designed for public appreciation. Like Kōetsu, Jakuchū came from a wealthy Kyoto family. But instead of serving and fraternizing with the samurai elite, Jakuchū's family ran a successful wholesale greengrocery business in Kyoto's bustling Nishiki market. Jakuchū, as eldest son, inherited the shop and ran it until retiring at age forty to pursue his twin passions: painting and devotion to Zen Buddhism. He prob-

ably started painting in his twenties under a Kano master, but he also studied and copied Chinese paintings at important Kyoto Zen monasteries. Like the Maruyama school founder Ōkyo, he also had a predilection for painting animals, birds, and plants from direct observation. Jakuchū took priestly vows as a Rinzai Zen monk in his thirties but continued to live in the secular world rather than enter a monastic community. He proclaimed his faith in the signature with which he signed many paintings, *koji* (lay Buddhist devotee). His conversion may have been stimulated by friendship with Daiten Kenjō, the Zen abbot who had praised Katō Nobukiyo's paintings. Daiten became an important mentor to Jakuchū and may have bestowed on the artist his Daoist-derived art name of Jakuchū ("like a void") (Hickman and Satō 1989, 19).

Although Jakuchū may have begun painting as an avocation, he eventually attracted prominent patrons (including important temples and shrines), especially after word of his talent spread as a result of public displays of a large set of Buddhist-inspired paintings he donated to Shōkokuji in 1765, perhaps at Daiten's urging. This set, widely regarded as his masterpiece, includes thirty large hanging scrolls of the bird-and-flower genre meant to be displayed divided into two groups, on either side of a triptych portraying the buddha Shaka, Monju, and Fugen, which he also donated at that time.[35] These amazingly decorative, playful and joyous paintings, depicting all manner of animals and plants, celebrate the diverse, wondrous life that comprises the world. The scroll from the set illustrated in plate 21 portrays fish swimming amid lotus flowers. This set has been aptly nicknamed "The Colorful Realm of Living Beings" (Dōshoku saie).[36] Late twentieth-century scholars believe that by pairing them with a formal Buddhist icon, Jakuchū intended to suggest that all life in the universe is touched by the teachings of the buddha Shaka, who preaches from the center of the grouping (Hickman and Satō 1989, 112).

Documents indicate that Jakuchū began painting these pictures about ten years prior to his donation. Although the reason he decided to create and donate the set to Shōkokuji remains unknown, scholars speculate that he wanted the paintings to be used to entice observers to appreciate the Buddha's teachings during an annual public display as part of a Buddhist repentance ritual on the seventeenth day of the sixth month of the year. They were first used in this manner in 1769. The previous year, Higashi Honganji, the head temple of one of the two main Jōdo Shin-sect denominations, borrowed the paintings for a temporary public display, giving members of this other sect a chance to see and appreciate them (Rosenfield 1999, 3:36; Hickman and Satō 1989, 57). That Jakuchū painted them for a Zen temple, and that they were displayed at a different sect's temple as well, reinforces the notion of Edo-period Buddhism as syncretic and that temples of different sects could work together on the higher goal of acquainting the public with Buddhist teachings. The set came into the



6.11. Itō Jakuchū (1716–1800). Three Rakan, from a large group of Buddhist deities, begun around 1776, completed in the 1790s. Stone. Height of each: approx. 70 cm. Sekihōji, Kyoto. Photograph by author.

imperial household collection during the Meiji period as a gift from Shōkokuji in exchange for funds to refurbish its then much-diminished precinct.

Completion of this set marked a turning point in Jakuchū's life. His brother had died just days prior to the donation and he studied Buddhism more intensely after that, becoming a reclusive lay follower of Ōbaku Zen. In his sixties, he spent about six years producing another public project to promote Buddhist values, the carving of a large group of stone statues of assorted Buddhist deities in the hilly bamboo grove behind the southern Kyoto Ōbaku temple of Sekihōji, where he retired and was later buried (fig. 6.11). The complex tableau included the Five Hundred Rakan, scenes showing the birth and death of the buddha Shaka, Amida Raigō, Shaka and his attendant bodhisattvas, Jizō, and other famous Buddhist themes. Although Jakuchū's name is associated with this project, he did not carve the boulders himself but hired trained stone carvers to do the work under his direction. Following established practice, he paid for this project through soliciting of donations and offering paintings he brushed in exchange — in this case, quick ink studies of plants and animals. As expected of an eccentric, individualist artist, Jakuchū's carvings differ considerably from other famous stone carvings of large groups of Rakan and Buddhist deities done around the same time (see figs. 4.6 and 4.7). His designs arose from the natural shape of the stones, and their placement meandered about the hillside informally. An imaginative painting that he brushed of the site and a woodblock print

produced after his lifetime in 1885 (based on a drawing he made of the place) show the grand scheme he had envisioned.[37] Unfortunately, an earthquake destroyed the original configuration in 1830 and the statues suffered further damage in the Meiji era, when some were removed.[38] The arrangement of the statues at the temple today dates from after World War II.

Contemporaneous with Jakuchū and also a member of Daiten's intellectual circle was Ike Taiga (1723–1776), a central figure in the development of the *nanga* painting movement.[39] At age six Taiga first visited Manpukuji to entertain the Ōbaku monks with his precocious ability in Chinese calligraphy (Takeuchi 1983, 148). By age fourteen, this one-time farmer's son had become an enterprising town painter who ran his own fan-painting shop in Kyoto to help support his widowed mother. He also found time to study the Chinese philosophies of Confucianism and Daoism, as well as Ōbaku Zen, all of which contributed to his development as a painter in search of self-cultivation and spiritual expression through his art. Many of Taiga's most famous paintings represent landscapes, both imaginary scenery of China and also Japan's famous sacred peaks, to which he frequently journeyed on pilgrimages and from which he took one of his often used art names ("Pilgrim of the Three Peaks," a reference to his pilgrimages to the holy Mount Tate, Mount Haku, where Natadera was located, and Mount Fuji) (Takeuchi 1992, 16). His patrons admired these paintings because they felt the self-consciously amateurish and playful style he employed in them both captured his lofty character and expressed the spiritual grandeur of the places they depicted, much like the attitude of Kinkoku's patrons (Takeuchi 1992, 126). In fact, Taiga's landscapes should be considered a precursor to the types of imagery Kinkoku created.

Besides landscapes, Taiga also brushed Buddhist figure paintings, often modeling his forms on Chinese Buddhist ink paintings brought to Japan by the Ōbaku monks. His most famous Buddhist commission is a celebrated set of sliding doors (*fusuma*) of the Five Hundred Rakan that he completed around 1772 for Manpukuji as part of a large temple renovation project commemorating the one hundredth anniversary of the death of the founder, Ingen.[40] But earlier in his life, in his late twenties, he brushed a painting in similar style, *Amida and Two Bodhisattvas Welcoming the Soul of the Dead* as a prayer for the salvation of his mother shortly after her death (fig. 6.12).[41] He took as artistic inspiration for this painting the Chinese artist Chen Xian (Jp. Chin Ken; active 1634–1654), whose paintings were owned by Manpukuji and other Ōbaku temples.[42] Like Chen, Taiga defines the clouds and figures with light, feathery brushstrokes and gives the deities benevolent facial expressions. This formal Buddhist icon painting is unique in his oeuvre, suggestive of its personal inspiration, although its brush style is inseparable from his works done as commissions.

Production of sacred imagery inspired by faith extended to every level of Japa-



6.12. Ike Taiga (1723–1776). *Amida and Two Bodhisattvas Welcoming the Soul of the Dead,* 1740s. Hanging scroll; ink on paper, 72 × 31.8 cm. Kumita Collection, Tokyo. Photograph by author.

nese society. Neither impoverishment nor high social status precluded creation of powerfully moving imagery. The makers of these works lived during a time in which it had become fashionable to place high value on individualistic visual expression, one of the defining characteristics of Edo-period art in general. This attitude helps explain the explosion of interest in Buddhist image production by amateurs. So often did their work closely resemble the work of professional artists that it became hard to differentiate the products of these two groups. At the same time that amateurs were becoming technically proficient in professional manners of art production, professionals excelled at spontaneously produced, seemingly amateurish pictures. These factors contributed to the blurring of distinctions between amateur and professional artists, another characteristic of Edo-period art that is evident in the imagery surveyed in this chapter.

PART I OF THIS BOOK has introduced a large range of material culture created in service to Buddhism at a time when Japan's mercantile economy driven by commoners thrived, a time formerly defined as spiritually vacuous. In part this stems from the fact that some of the icons made at the time wound up not in formal places of worship, but in the intermediary zones between sacred and profane environments — around the grounds of temple compounds, on altars in private homes, or on walls of secular dwellings or places of business. Also, it has been asserted that much of the Buddhist imagery was derivative of earlier, more aesthetically significant creations. In reality, though, the spread of Buddhist teachings has long depended upon artists adhering to iconographically correct visual forms. Yet paradoxically, throughout history Buddhist art of different countries and time periods developed clearly identifiable characteristics, reflective of the tenor of the times in which it was created and developments within the faith itself. Such is the case with Buddhist architecture and art of early modern Japan.

Buddhism's visual culture of Edo-period Japan is distinguished by a sharing of stylistic conventions and subject matter across sects and among image-makers from varied social classes. They reflect the dominance at the time of syncretic belief systems and the increasing breakdown of distinctions among social classes. Yet within this shared continuum the varied and energetic productions provide evidence that Buddhism inspired highly personal responses in those who created its icons and patronized its institutions. Such developments presage Buddhism's varied imagery and structures designed for the performance of religious practice in modern Japan, the focus of Part II.

Part II

Buddhist Imagery and Sacred Sites in Modern Japan, 1868–2005

Ever since Westerners first freely roamed Japan during the Meiji period, they have enjoyed visiting Buddhist temples and their gardens. Many came simply to see the exotic land of Japan firsthand or to serve as missionaries, but some became so entranced by Buddhism that they converted to the faith.[1] Many also collected Buddhist art for museums and private collections abroad, at first because these objects could help foreigners visualize the faith, but gradually their interest shifted to an appreciation for the aesthetic appeal of the objects. Invariably, they visited the most famous, ancient temples in Kyoto and Nara and of course the Great Buddha of Kamakura, as well as some sites and monuments no longer extant and now forgotten.

To many visitors, interest in Buddhist sites and images stemmed from their attraction to Japan as a quaint, exotic land. They lamented the push towards Westernization and modernization that, since the Meiji period, has been propelling Japanese society into the forefront of the global economy. But where does Buddhism fit into this scheme? And has it been able to survive as a living tradition with relevance to modern times? Statistics on the number of practicing Buddhists in contemporary Japan vary considerably from 20 percent to 90 percent, depending on the questions about the nature of people's religious practices and faith. Contemporary Japan is widely regarded as a secular nation, with Buddhist institutions playing a marginal role, largely peripheral to people's lives. But is this really so?[2]

I believe the striking and diverse examples of sacred imagery and sites of worship I have found, as well as the many powerfully moving images made as demonstrations of faith by private individuals, both by professional artists and amateur practitioners, belie detractors' claims of Buddhism's irrelevance to modern Japan. Although these new Buddhist monuments and icons sometimes scarcely resemble what came before, and although they may be displayed in nontraditional spaces where they serve new functions, often as objects of aesthetic contemplation, their inspiration derives from Buddhist values that have remained consistent with those of the past. They reveal the ever-changing evolution of the faith in tandem with transformations in Japanese society for which they serve as both reflections and shapers of Buddhist thought and praxis.

Chapter Seven

Buddhist Institutions after an Era of Persecution, 1868–1945

THE LEADERS OF the Meiji Restoration dealt a heavy blow to institutional Buddhism by tying reassertion of imperial power to the emperor's divine status as heir to the Shinto deities who created Japan, making Shinto the country's national religion. Weeks after the Meiji Restoration in 1868 and continuing to 1872, the government enacted separation of Shinto and Buddhism (*shinbutsu bunri*) edicts, which included provisions that forced temples to close or become Shinto shrines, scattered lay follower networks, stripped temples of their role as census keepers, and mandated retirement of thousands of Buddhist monks and nuns, many of whom became Shinto priests.[1] This derision of Buddhism had actually developed gradually during the Edo period, but near the end of the era opposition to the faith swelled among both the daimyo who led opposition to the Tokugawa and many citizens in reaction to perceived materialism of its institutions and critiques of the faith by staunch supporters of Shinto, who argued "that Buddhism was an alien and distorted creed, inimical to the interests of Shinto, the domain, and the country" (Collcutt 1986, 148).

Although the Meiji government maintained that it did not intend to destroy Buddhism but simply to extricate it from close association with Shinto, many local authorities took the new regulations as a mandate to demolish Buddhist temples (eighteen thousand by some estimates) under the slogan "destroy the buddhas, abandon Shaka" (*haibutsu kishaku*). The incomplete census data from the early Meiji period suggests that persecution of Buddhist institutions and their clerics continued as late as 1876. Among these lost temples, many belonged

to the Rinzai sect, which was closely associated with the old Tokugawa regime. Others, mainly affiliated with Tendai, Shingon, and Sōtō Zen, had few, if any, parishioners, did not regularly perform funerary rites, lacked head priests, or functioned primarily as sites of prayers for personal benefits (Collcutt 1986, 161–163). Although these efforts may have closed temples, they did not diminish religious devotion. As noted by Emile Guimet (discussed in chap. 8), an astute foreign visitor to Japan in 1876, "popular religion was one of the first things the progressive innovators had hoped to destroy; but their efforts in fact resulted in a revival of popular beliefs and forced the clergy to reorganize and perfect themselves."[2] This chapter addresses just this issue — the ways Buddhist institutions sought to resurrect the faith in the aftermath of persecution, with particular reference to the central role its temple buildings and sculpted icons played in this transformation. The remarkable resurgence of Buddhism in the Meiji period marks a profound turning point in the way the religion and its monuments have functioned in Japanese society ever since.

Reconstruction and Restoration of Temple Compounds

Buddhism's eventual resurrection came about through efforts of diverse groups, including religious organizations, wealthy laity, and officials within various government agencies, each with distinct but sometimes overlapping agendas. Both during and after this initial period of persecution, Buddhist institutions sought innovative strategies for survival. The Jōdo Shin sect was at the forefront of recognizing the necessity of forging ties with the newly established government. Their leaders shrewdly aligned themselves with the Meiji government from the beginning, lending it substantial funds for start-up expenses. They also spearheaded establishment of the trans-sectarian Organization of United Buddhist Sects (Soshū Dōtoku Kairen) in 1868, which promoted "the inseparability of the Kingly Law and the Buddhist Law." In addition, they and other sects participated in the short-lived (1872–1877) Ministry of Rites to assist the government's new education mandate (Ketelaar 1990, 73 and 96–105).

These Shin Buddhist organizations also recognized that Buddhism needed to encompass modern Western intellectual modes of scholarship in order to survive. They embraced Western approaches to learning, arranging for several members of their clergy to join Meiji bureaucrats on a fact-finding mission to Europe and America from 1871 to 1873. Additionally, in 1876 Higashi Honganji sent two monks to England to study Buddhism under Friedrich Max Müller (1823–1900) at Oxford.[3] Nishi Honganji also became the first of many Buddhist organizations to found universities on the Western model. Other sects took different approaches to modernization. For example, Rinzai for the first time allowed laity to begin participating in clerical practices.[4] Lay involvement with

temples and religious propagation, as discussed in chapter 8, became a decisive factor in the faith's resurgence.

By 1889, Buddhists had gained sufficient influence that the newly drafted Meiji Constitution included a "Freedom of Religion Clause." But the pivotal moment for Buddhism's recovery came in 1893, when four Japanese Buddhist priests (of the Shingon, Tendai, Shin, and Rinzai sects) and one Buddhist layman journeyed to Chicago to participate in the seventeen-day forum of the World's Parliament of Religions, held in conjunction with the World's Columbian Exhibition.[5] Well received in Chicago, they parlayed their newfound prestige into domestic support for Buddhism in both government circles and among the Japanese populace. As James Ketelaar has eloquently noted, they extolled the faith as "both the true source and one of the few (if not the only) remaining bastions of Asian culture. They further asserted that Eastern Buddhism, the most evolutionary advanced of the various forms of Buddhism (and containing these various forms within it), coupled with the materialistic wealth of (Japanese) technology, will begin the next revolution in Asia" (1990, 167).

In part, this conviction in the supremacy of Japanese Buddhism grew out of earlier Japanese and Western nondenominational research on the life of the buddha Shaka as the faith's founder. Beginning in the 1880s, these studies encouraged Japanese clerics to venture to India and other parts of South Asia in search of early Buddhism. There, though they gained new ideas about the practice of the faith, which led to their reemphasis on respect and veneration for Shaka, they also found Buddhism threatened by Christian missionaries and the Buddhist citizenry mired in ignorance and poverty. At first the clerics traveled as private citizens, only occasionally armed with letters of introduction from Japanese authorities. By the early twentieth century some Buddhist encounters had become formal, authorized diplomatic exchanges that entailed gifting sacred relics and icons to Japan and dispatching Japanese Buddhist missionaries to India (Jaffe 2004a).

By the beginning of the Taishō period (1912–1926), enough Japanese Buddhists had witnessed the deplorable conditions of the faith in India and other parts of South Asia that Japanese Buddhist clerics and lay scholars grew convinced of their responsibility to preserve and transmit knowledge of Buddhism to the world. One of the most important of the scholars, Watanabe Kaigyoku (1872–1933), "regarded Buddhism as something uniquely Japanese that could help Japan achieve independence and prestige with respect to other nations . . . [and that it] would aid in the 'development' of Asia."[6] To advance this aim and overtake the lead in Buddhist scholarship that, until then, had been dominated by European studies, Watanabe and others began publishing reams of Buddhist texts, including the most complete collection of Buddhism's sacred books, or *tripitaka,* ever compiled. The text's preface, written by Watanabe, explained

that they published these works to spread the gospel of Buddhism because "truly it is the fountainhead of wisdom and virtue for humanity and the great treasury of the world. . . . Yet apart from us, the Buddhist scholars of Japan, who can clarify and spread its teachings?"[7] With this statement, Watanabe articulated the increasingly close relationship between Buddhism and the expansionist policies of the imperial Japanese state, resituating the importance of Buddhism to Japan's national and cultural identity for the first time since the seventeenth century. As will be discussed in chapter 8, these scholarly studies also had another, unexpected effect: they influenced intellectuals to incorporate Buddhist values into secular philosophies and the visual arts.

Buddhism's reemergence in the Japanese cultural sphere was equally indebted to restitution of its historical importance, which the government had itself begun admitting decades earlier. In 1871, the central government first began to pay attention to the plight of temples and their treasures. This interest was stimulated by horror at the magnitude of their physical destruction and recognition that a new influx of Christian missionaries from abroad represented a dire threat to the nation's cultural identity and the new government's moral authority. The government responded by establishing a national museum to preserve significant holdings of temples and shrines and authorizing a survey team to search for suitable materials to fill it. It also issued an edict instructing religious institutions to compile a list of their important material possessions and note significant buildings at their complexes. Because of budget restrictions, only in the 1880s did the government begin funding the repair of damaged ancient temple buildings, first by the authority of the Ministry of the Interior, but from 1888 under the oversight of a newly created agency within the Imperial Household Ministry.[8] This agency also authorized another survey of temples and shrines under the supervision of the newly appointed head of the reorganized national museum, Kuki Ryūichi (1852–1931).

Kuki was an outspoken and influential promoter of Buddhism's material culture. He had served in the Ministry of Education since its founding in 1871 and in 1873 was posted to Europe for a year to assess the progress of Japanese then studying abroad.[9] While there, he observed that Western nations valued religious sites and their treasures as cultural patrimony and learned about modern, Western studies of Buddhism, the latter perhaps by attending the First International Congress of Orientalists in Paris in 1873, which included two sessions specifically about Japanese religion (Conant 1984, 118–120). Upon his return, Kuki aided the efforts of Buddhist organizations to rehabilitate the faith by championing preservation of its temples as important symbols of Japan's unique cultural heritage.

Later, Kuki was among those instrumental in persuading the government to enact, in 1897, two laws to safeguard its cultural properties at religious institu-

tions. One, the Law for Protection of Old Temples and Shrines (Koshaji hozon hō), mandated protecting artistic treasures and buildings at religious institutions and allocated funding for worthy projects. The second law for the first time designated significant buildings and select arts (mostly religious sculptures and paintings) at these institutions as National Treasures (Kokuhō).[10] Arguing for the inclusion of preservation, restoration, and ranking of significant buildings in these laws were members of the first generation of Japanese architects trained in Western architecture and engineering techniques at the Imperial University of Tokyo (now Tokyo University), especially Itō Chūta (discussed below). Students there studied new techniques for building design, but they also carried out the first systematic studies on ancient Japanese temple architecture of Nara and Kyoto under the direction of master carpenter Kigo Kiyoyoshi (d. 1915), whom the university engaged to teach aspiring architects the fundamentals of traditional Japanese architecture (Wendelken 1996, 30–32).

Thus for both religious and political reasons, by the late Meiji period and lasting through the mid-1930s renewed interest in Buddhism stimulated a building boom at Buddhist institutions. Much of this was concentrated at venerable temple complexes in the Kyoto and Nara regions. But new construction took place elsewhere as well, at important pilgrimage sites, at regional temples in the new political capital of Tokyo, in the affluent port city of Kobe, with its large foreign population, and in other urban centers as directed by influential clergy or laity. Construction took the form of both the repair of damaged old buildings and the erection of new structures to replace lost buildings. Sometimes restorations recreated the aura of antiquity at traditional Japanese temple compounds, many of whose standing structures had been last erected or significantly repaired by the Tokugawa government in the seventeenth century. Occasionally, however, new temple buildings were designed in modern, Western styles utilizing Western construction techniques and materials.

The most ambitious and earliest of these major reconstruction projects took place at the Ōtani Shin-sect headquarters of Higashi Honganji in Kyoto, necessitated by a fire in 1864 that destroyed the core buildings of its compound: its Main Hall (known as the Founder's Hall, or Goeidō), that hall's main gate, and a large worship hall adjacent to it (the Amida Hall). The temple made rebuilding the lost structures a high priority, for they served as the focal point of religious devotion for the sect's many adherents, who regularly came from afar to participate in various annual religious observations. Because of its broad following among commoners and its early support of the Meiji government, Higashi Honganji's Shin sect weathered the difficult early Meiji years better than others and garnered enough popular support through massive solicitation efforts to complete the rebuilding. Followers assisted with funding, procuring logs from throughout the country and transporting them to Kyoto. Women devotees con-



7.1. Founder's Hall (Goeidō), Higashi Honganji, Kyoto, 1895. Photograph by author.

tributed by cutting their long hair, which they plaited into ropes (*kezuna*) and donated to the temple because conventional rope materials were found to be too weak to haul the huge timbers for the buildings to the construction site.[11] New interior decoration included wall paintings by Kyoto's most prominent painters working in traditional Japanese styles then, broadly defined as Nihonga.[12]

Reconstruction of the complex's Founder's Hall commenced in 1879. Dedication for both it and the Amida Hall took place in 1895. When completed, the two-tiered, hip-and-gable Founder's Hall contained what still remains the largest floor space of any wooden building in the world, measuring 76 meters wide by 58 meters in depth, with a height of 38 meters (fig. 7.1). This huge scale befits the temple's role as headquarters to the most popular of Japan's many Buddhist sects and stands as the grandest achievement of professional Japanese carpenters of this time. Although the building was created entirely with traditional methods and materials, designers incorporated some new technology in order to make the building more fireproof, an acute problem in the past (the buildings had burned four times in the Edo period alone). Taking advantage of a newly constructed canal that funneled water to Kyoto from Lake Biwa, a steel-pipe water line was installed that led to the temple, designed in such a way that water could be sprinkled over the high roof of Founder's Hall without requiring pumps run by electric power.[13]

Nevertheless, in this transition era before World War II, some architects and builders took more drastic measures to assure the longevity of new temple



7.2. Great Buddha Hall (Daibutsuden), Tōdaiji, Nara, 1707, restored 1906–1913. Photograph by author.

buildings. Just several years later, in 1915, planners of another Ōtani Shin-sect Main Hall at one of the sect's affiliate temples (*betsuin*) in Hakodate, Hokkaido, abandoned traditional timber-framed structures entirely and designed the building in reinforced concrete, though with traditional appearance and surface details. This building represents an option that, throughout the succeeding twentieth century, became increasingly favored for construction of temple buildings because their modern, Western-trained architects and builders had become wary of the hazards of timber-frame construction. Though wood is sustainable, it succumbs easily to the ravages of fire, earthquakes, and deterioration from biological causes. The imprecise engineering of traditional wooden structures sometimes caused failure of key supporting members, often due to the heavy weight of clay-tile roofs.[14]

Occasionally, late Meiji architects even incorporated new Western engineering techniques into the reconstruction of old temple buildings in order to stabilize the structures and preserve their original appearance. They did this to preserve the Great Buddha Hall at Tōdaiji, last rebuilt in 1707 (fig. 7.2).[15] In Japan, the practice of periodically repairing old buildings by partially or entirely dismantling them dates back to the ninth century.[16] In the late Meiji period, restorers—architects newly trained in Western engineering—adopted Western technology to facilitate more long-lasting and effective solutions. But this approach was short-lived. During the 1930s, rebuilding again utilized traditional techniques for restoration projects whenever possible (further discussed in chap. 9).

So grievous was the condition of Tōdaiji's Great Buddha Hall in the late nineteenth century that it is not an overstatement to remark that without major repair at that time the building would not be standing today. Temple administrators had unsuccessfully petitioned the government for help with funding repairs as early as 1892, pleading their case by noting how closely associated with central political authority the temple had been from its inception. Only after the 1897 laws were enacted did the government respond with assistance, but the vast sum required necessitated supplemental funding from temple assets and private supporters (Coaldrake 1996, 249). Reconstruction lasted from 1906 to 1913. The Ministry of the Interior oversaw reconstruction and engaged the nation's best Tokyo University architecture department graduates, including Itō Chūta. Restoration consisted of the complete dismantling and reconstruction of this mammoth structure, utilizing steel (imported from England) and concrete to provide support to the roof, which leaked and was in imminent danger of collapse. Architects hid these modifications from view under a suspended ceiling. They adapted this nontraditional solution in large part because timbers of suitably large size were simply not available in Japan (the building measures a vast 49.1 meters high, 57.1 meters wide, and 50 meters deep). Also, no traditional carpenters remained alive who possessed the necessary skills to undertake such massive reconstruction. Still, wooden buildings by their nature require periodic maintenance, and the building again underwent necessary restoration between 1973 and 1980.[17]

Because of an acute scarcity of large wood logs, when the Main Hall at Kyoto's Zen temple of Tōfukuji burned in 1881, its replacement, completed in 1934, was rebuilt smaller than before, at a mere 25.5 meters high, 41.4 meters wide, and 33 meters deep (fig. 7.3). Still, it stands today as the largest wooden building erected during the Shōwa period (1926–1989), and although its dimensions are smaller than prior temple buildings, it possesses a stately interior space with remarkable acoustic properties. The cypress wood used for the pillars had to be imported from Taiwan, accessible because Japan had annexed the Chinese island in 1895 as part of its victory negotiations after the Sino-Japanese War. However, despite a successful fund-raising campaign that lasted from 1908 to 1917 (as a new building project rather than a restoration, Tōfukuji's building did not qualify for state support and had to be privately funded), transportation costs for the timber from Taiwan were so great that the temple could not have afforded it. However, the government felt the reconstruction of this important Buddhist temple compound was sufficiently worthy of its attention to arrange for the Japanese navy to transport the lumber on its ships at no cost (Ōoka et al. 1977, 113). Taiwanese cypress remains widely used in the construction of wooden buildings in Japan today because of its continued scarcity and high cost in Japan.[18]

Construction of the structure took fifteen years, from 1917 to 1932; the build-



7.3. Main Hall (Butsuden or Hondō), Tōfukuji, Kyoto, 1934. Photograph by author.

ing was dedicated in 1934, after completion of the interior. Major funding came from a wealthy Nichiren sect supporter in remembrance of the time when his sect's founder was being persecuted in the thirteenth century and Tōfukuji's founder gave him assistance. The architectural style replicated was not that of the preceding Edo period, but one that bore a closer resemblance to the style of architecture of the temple's oldest standing buildings, especially the neighboring Main Gate, which dates from the Muromachi era (late fourteenth to early fifteenth century) (Ōoka et al. 1977, 93, 112–114).

Although the vast majority of the many new temple buildings erected before World War II followed the timber styles of preexisting older structures in their environs, occasional deviations from this model began appearing in the late Meiji period in the form of strikingly modern, Western-style buildings.[19] The most impressive building of this type is the 1934 Tsukiji Honganji in Tokyo designed by Itō Chūta (1867–1954) (fig. 7.4).[20] This building replaced an Edo-period wood-frame structure destroyed by the Great Kantō earthquake of 1923. The temple functions as the Honganji Shin sect's headquarters in eastern Japan. Its location in the middle of Tokyo gave it great prominence, so the decision to reconstruct this temple in modern rather than traditional form was an important one, reflecting the image of Buddhism that this powerful and wealthy Shin sect



7.4. Itō Chūta (1867–1954). Main Hall of Tsukiji Honganji, Tokyo, 1934. Photograph by author.

wished to project to the world. As Richard Jaffe notes, this temple and other buildings like it constructed around that time helped create a new transnational identity for Buddhism through their creation of "pan-Asian spaces in Japan that recalled Buddhism's past and evoked its future" (2006, 270).

The decision to hire Itō as architect came about because his writings and previous designs of other temple buildings, including some for the Honganji sect, demonstrated a shared set of values with the sect, which placed high regard on spreading their forward-looking Buddhist ideology abroad. They required a positivist, modern, and cosmopolitan image for their temples, just the sort of architecture Itō designed. Itō's philosophy on architecture had evolved from broad-ranging studies that started with research on historic Japanese temples during his student days at Tokyo University. There, he began work on a groundbreaking study of Hōryūji eventually published in 1898 (Kikuchi 2004, 94–95).

Itō traveled to mainland Asia between 1903 and 1905 to study its various nations' diverse forms of architecture. After he returned, he began to design buildings in what he described as "a new national style for Japan that would reflect its broader cultural origins in Asia" (Wendelken 2000, 821). His trip had convinced him that Japanese architecture culminated the achievements of Asian architecture, which he viewed as emerging from the same roots as Western architecture. He described these ideas in his magnum opus, "Evolution Theory of Architecture," published in 1909. His thesis built upon ideas about the uniqueness of

Eastern culture and the dominance of Japan in relation to other nations of *tōyō* (the East) by Kuki Ryūichi and his associates, Okakura Tenshin (aka Kakuzō, 1862–1913) and the Bostonian Ernest Fenollosa (1853–1908), and Social Darwinism, which he applied to architecture.[21]

The architectural style Itō used for Tsukiji Honganji is one he helped perfect — Japan's first modern architectural style known as the shrine and temple style (*shajiyō*) because of its outward resemblance to traditional religious buildings. It synthesized Western and Eastern aesthetics using the latest Western technology and materials — masonry construction, concrete, and stained glass — instead of traditional Japanese timber-frame construction. It had pews inside for worshipers so they did not need to remove their shoes before entering the building, as well as a pipe organ.[22] Precedents for a similar hybrid East-West architectural style existed in the "Indo-Saracenic" style found in India that blended Hindu, Muslim, and Western features. Early Western-trained Japanese architects had become familiar with adaptations of this style in Japan through the teachings and buildings of Josiah Conder (1852–1920).[23] Application of the shrine and temple style for a Buddhist worship hall underscored the impression of the religion as modern and cosmopolitan, yet tied to its Asian roots. The Honganji Shin sect had used a variation of it earlier on a missionary temple in Hawaiʻi completed in 1918.[24] The Tsukiji Honganji stands as Itō's most ambitious temple building. It opened in 1934, the same year that Tōfukuji's new wooden Main Hall was completed. Their diametrically opposed architectural styles illuminate the complex and sometimes conflicting attitudes about Buddhism of their day: on the one hand, restored historic monuments of the faith glorified Japan's past cultural achievements; on the other hand, new buildings such as Tsukiji Honganji served as a beacon for the nation's grand plans for the future.[25]

New Icons for Temples

At the beginning of the Meiji period, several factors contributed to imperiling and then reconceptualizing the profession of Buddhist sculptors. First there was persecution of Buddhism, which, as already discussed, nearly extinguished the need for Buddhist sculptors. Second, as part of their push for modernization, Japanese authorities sought to rethink the uses of traditional imagery and kindle interest in Western forms of art. The Japanese first perceived this need after participating in the Vienna World Exposition in 1873. At the time, judges deemed their exhibited materials as industrial arts and handicrafts, not fine arts, which was a more prestigious category, partially because Japan had no comparable terminology for its arts, and its traditional media were not those used by fine artists in the Western world. In reaction, the Japanese adapted Western nomenclature

to define its arts, coining words for "fine art" (*bijutsu*) and other specific types of Western-based fine art such as "sculpture" (*chōkoku*), which supplemented the traditional word used for sculpted icons (*zō*) that had more limited connotations (D. Satō 1996, 51). Sculpture, according to the Western art establishment's definition, did not include wood carving, the primary medium for Buddhist icons, but instead was restricted to sculpture in stone, bronze, or plaster.

Following these Western categorizations, the Meiji government considered *busshi,* who specialized in wood carving, as craftsmakers and not artists and invited them to participate in the early domestic industrial exhibitions (*naikoku kangyō hakurankai*) that encouraged changes in traditional handicraft industries to increase their potential as export products.[26] These exhibitions changed the way Buddhist sculptors perceived their craft, since innovation and technical virtuosity, rather than adherence to set iconographic programs, won them awards and new, often secular and foreign, clients (Guth 2004a, 156).

Also, because it was a craft and not a fine art, instruction in the technical production of wooden Buddhist sculpture was intentionally omitted from the curriculum of the first government art school (Kōbu Bijutsu Gakkō), established in 1876 by the Ministry of Public Works. Instead, students there studied Western-style design principles and art techniques with European artists as their teachers. They learned skills, such as new methods for bronze casting, needed to compete successfully in international markets.[27] Although this school was short-lived (it closed in 1883 amid a resurgence of interest in traditional Japanese arts), it set in motion the marginalization of Buddhist icon making from mainstream fine art training and discourse that has continued largely unabated since. So great has this schism become that the names of even the most prominent modern carvers of Buddhist icons remain absent from the standard dictionary of modern Japanese artists, except for those who studied at fine-arts schools and had also made a name for themselves in juried competitions of secular art.[28] Nevertheless, Buddhist icon making continued in response to strong popular support for the faith. Sometimes these images incorporated nontraditional materials and techniques, reflecting innovative ways the clergy sought to connect with their parishioners and other temple visitors and new modes of expressing faith by the religion's devout lay supporters.

During the Edo period, apart from the individual creations of self-taught, itinerant monks like Enkū and Mokujiki, ateliers of *busshi* had sprung up throughout Japan to make Buddhist sculpture for temples and devotees' home altars. But in the turmoil of the early Meiji period, many of these regional studios vanished. Training then became concentrated in Kyoto, Nara, and Osaka, home to the oldest and most prestigious lineages of makers whose association with the old temples of Kyoto and Nara stretched back over many generations.[29] Many of the

new sculpture projects went to the prestigious Kyoto workshop of Tanaka Mon'a (1820–1884) and his son, Tanaka Bunya (1844–1925).

Soon after the Higashi Honganji compound burned in 1864, the temple commissioned the Tanaka atelier to carve new icons for the second floor of the Founder's Hall Gate (Goeidōmon), the temple's main gate through which devotees pass en route to participation in services in the Founder's Hall. The statues were dedicated in 1879, decades before the gate itself was completed in 1911.[30] Befitting the use of the gate as the main entrance to the sect's headquarters, the statues enshrined represent the buddha Shaka, his faithful disciple Anan (Skt. Ānanda), one of the ten great disciples of the Buddha, and Miroku (fig. 7.5).[31] They bring to life a passage in the Larger Sutra of Infinite Life (Skt. Sukhāvatīvyūha; Jp. Muryōju kyō), the most important doctrine of the Shin sect, in which these three figures from the Buddhist pantheon teach that attainment of buddhahood can be achieved through belief in the buddha Amida and his Pure Land.[32] Despite the fact that these are essentially secret images that few can see since the gate's second floor is normally closed to the public, they were carved and finished with great care.[33] All three statues possess serene facial expressions, wear elegant flowing drapery, and stand or sit atop ornate, gilt lotus thrones mounted on multitiered, intricately carved gilt-wood bases. The gilt-wood surfaces of the Shaka and Miroku capture the resplendence of Buddhist divinities, while the rich detail of the polychrome textile patterns covering Anan's monk's robe denote his important rank among the Buddha's disciples. Based on these rarely seen and largely forgotten images, it is evident that the finest *busshi* of the time still possessed a high level of talent. After his father's death, Tanaka Bunya continued to produce statues for many important Kyoto temples reconstructed in the late Meiji era.[34]

As a high-status workshop centered in Kyoto, the Tanaka atelier thrived because of long-standing ties with prominent temples in its vicinity, which could still procure the funds necessary to pay for their time-consuming work. But for most *busshi,* the Meiji Restoration caused disintegration of their traditional patronage networks, and new attitudes towards sculpture forced them to modify their familiar working methods. Many participated in industrial expositions to find clients, sometimes foreigners (see discussion of Emile Guimet and the *busshi* Yamamoto Mosuke in chap. 8), and a few accepted invitations to join the faculty of a new national institution for the training of artists, the Tokyo School of Fine Arts (Tokyo Bijutsu Gakkō).[35] The government established this school in 1887 (it opened for students in 1889) under the direction of Okakura Tenshin, assisted by his friend Ernest Fenollosa. They believed that Japan needed to retain its identity in the face of the encroachment of Westernization. The school's approach encouraged students to create a modern form of Japanese



7.5. Tanaka Mon'a (1820–1884) and Tanaka Bunya (1844–1925). *Shaka Flanked by Anan* [left] *and Miroku* [right] in the second-floor chamber of the Founder's Hall Gate (Goeidōmon), Higashi Honganji, Kyoto, 1879; installed after completion of gate reconstruction in 1911. Wood with gilt, polychrome, and inset crystal eyes. Height of Shaka: 85.5 cm; height of Anan: 95 cm; height of Miroku: 103 cm. Photograph by author.

art that would encompass the techniques and materials favored by traditional artists. Central to their method of teaching was the copying of ancient artistic masterpieces, both secular and religious paintings, as well as Buddhist sculpture, as sources for their creation of art, both painting (Nihonga) and sculpture, of greater originality. One of the *busshi* Okakura hired to instruct pupils in the technique of wood sculpture was Takamura Kōun (1852–1934), a disciple of Takamura Tōun (see fig. 4.8). Kōun had won a prize at the first Industrial Exposition in 1877. Soon after, he began carving more modern, secular subjects, some as models for pieces to be cast in bronze intended for the export market. He later wrote in his memoirs that he was inspired to abandon his *busshi* practice because he abhorred the decline in quality of late Edo-period Buddhist sculpture, made quickly and in large quantities for profit by makers who considered their products mere commodities (Miyama 1984, 192–193). Although Kōun had already begun to transform himself into a modern artist by the time he joined the school, he accepted the position reluctantly, aware of his lack of formal artistic training (Guth 2004a, 163).

Although Kōun is most famous for his secular sculptures, he continued to carve traditional iconic imagery for Buddhist temples throughout his life.[36] Some of his pupils followed this dual career path as well. Kōun worked together with one of these disciples, Yonehara Unkai (1869–1925), on the production of mammoth statues of Niō, Buddhist guardian figures (fig. 7.6), for the Niō Gate (Niōmon) at the pilgrimage temple of Zenkōji (see fig. 3.3). The gate was erected in 1918 to replace its Edo-period predecessor, which was destroyed in a fire in 1891. Like Kōun, Unkai had grown up immersed in the life of a traditional craftsman, initially training as a carver of sculptural ornamentation for temples. However, he aspired to become a *busshi* and became a student of Kōun. Like his mentor, Unkai also sculpted individualistic interpretations of Buddhist imagery and secular subjects that he entered in juried competitions. Unkai worked on the Niō sculptures in residence at Zenkōji for four years (1915–1919) under Kōun's guidance (Kawakita 1989, 388). The *jōroku* (over 3 meters in height) statues tower over visitors making their way to the temple's Main Hall. Their dramatic poses and bulging muscles display their artists' familiarity with Kamakura-period statues such as the magnificent guardians at the Great South Gate of the Great Buddha Hall of Tōdaiji.[37] Kōun had begun studying these old Buddhist sculptures only after he entered the Tokyo School of Fine Arts at the encouragement of Okakura and Fenollosa. Previously, as a young *busshi* working in Tokyo, he had carved new images and repaired old ones without actually visiting Kyoto and Nara temples (Guth 2004a, 163).

Kōun and his pupils possessed a rare ability to straddle the line between modern artist and traditional Buddhist sculptor, professions that are essentially at cross purposes. Those who make Buddhist sculptures for orthodox institutions



7.6. Takamura Kōun (1852–1934) and Yonehara Unkai (1869–1925). *Buddhist Guardian* (*Niō*), one of a pair in the Main Gate (Niōmon) at Zenkōji, Nagano, 1918. Wood. Height: approx. 3 m. Photograph by author.

need to adhere to rigidly defined iconographic parameters, while modern artists celebrate originality of conception. Consequently, sculpture professors at art schools after the time of Kōun have tended to place greater emphasis on principles of modern art. From the beginning of the twentieth century students wishing to pursue careers as *busshi* have had to apprentice at traditional workshops. Acceptance into these workshops is essential for gaining access to patrons, both Buddhist institutions and laity. They also teach techniques peculiar to the art of Buddhist image making and instill pupils with respect for Buddhism and its iconography.

Although carved-wood sculptures make up the vast majority of Buddhist icons installed in temple worship halls even today, from the Meiji period sometimes temples commissioned makers other than *busshi* to fabricate these images. Undoubtedly the most unusual of these nonstandard icons are the Buddhist statues composed of cremated remains of devotees (*okotsu butsu*) at the Osaka Jōdo-sect temple of Isshinji (fig. 7.7). Temple legend credits Hōnen Shonin (1133–1212), the founder of the sect, with its establishment. In 1615, Tokugawa Ieyasu and his troops camped at the temple compound while engaged in battle with the Toyotomi forces, which occupied nearby Osaka Castle. After the Tokugawa vic-

tory, the newly established shogun patronized the temple, hence precipitating its prominence and wealth. By the late Edo period Isshinji, situated near the fashionable entertainment district of the city, had become the preferred mortuary temple for local Kabuki actors. This fact must have accounted for the burial there in 1854 of Ichikawa Danjūrō VIII (1823–1854), a stupendously popular Kabuki actor from Edo who tragically took his own life while visiting his father, who was then banished from Edo. His burial there must have stimulated the popularity of Isshinji as a burial site among his hordes of fans, for, coinciding with his interment there, large numbers of people began depositing funerary urns at the temple.[38]

Donations continued unabated throughout Buddhism's darkest days in the early Meiji period so that by the mid-1880s these urns numbered over fifty thousand. For reasons that remain unclear due to destruction of temple records in World War II, but perhaps as a practical solution to limitations of space, the temple's head priest hired artists to incorporate these remains into sacred statues of the buddha Amida while still treating them with reverence. The priest Shingan from Daienji in Kanazawa had done something similar with a statue of Jizō that contained the crushed bones of deceased persons (see plate 6). But unlike Shingan, the Isshinji priest intended this to be an ongoing plan, perhaps to encourage continued support for his temple. To realize this goal, he engaged the services of sculptors skilled in the Western sculpture techniques of plaster and bronze casting who mixed the ashes with plant resin to create the Buddha forms. The first of the current eleven *okotsu butsu* statues was consecrated in 1887.

Regrettably, bombing during World War II totally destroyed the temple and the six statues completed before then (the last prewar statue had been consecrated in 1938). After the war, production resumed and the first new statue incorporated broken pieces of the first six, in addition to recently donated cremated remains of devotees donated up to 1947, the year of its dedication. Since then, four other statues have been enshrined, most recently in 1997. Each of these postwar statues incorporates the ashes of about 220,000 persons, many more than the earlier ones. Work on the twelfth statue commenced in early 2006. It is scheduled for dedication in 2007.

The temple commissioned Imamura Kyūbei, a ninth-generation Osaka *busshi,* to create the first image, and his family has been responsible for these images ever since. Kyūbei's son, Imamura Teruhisa, a modern sculptor (not a *busshi*), made the statues beginning in the 1920s, and in recent decades he has been assisted by his son, Imamura Hajime (b. 1957), a well-known avant-garde artist who will be solely responsible for the 2007 statue.[39] Although made from molds like plaster casts, each statue is unique, with different bodily proportions and colors. A patina of age distinguishes the earlier surviving ones from those more recently completed. In recent decades, the fame of these statues has led



7.7. Three generations of the Imamura Kyūbei family. Buddha statues made of cremated remains (*okotsu butsu*), 1880s to the present. Cast plaster incorporating cremated human remains, polychrome, and gilt. Height of each statue: approx. 120 cm. Isshinji, Osaka. Photo courtesy of Takaguchi Yashiyuki.

many devout Buddhists of diverse sects to donate their loved ones' remains here. This popularity has allowed the temple to prosper and to construct some unusual worship halls and other buildings (discussed in chap. 9), and has also led at least two other Jōdo-sect temples to emulate Isshinji's practice of making *okotsu butsu* in the years following World War II.[40]

Not long after Isshinji began making *okotsu butsu,* the Rinzai Zen-sect headquarters of Kenninji in Kyoto also installed some unusual icons in the second-floor chamber of the gate leading to its Founder's Hall (Kaisandō). Kenninji is Kyoto's oldest Zen temple, established in 1202 by the Rinzai-sect founder Eisai (1141–1215). Following the custom of honoring important milestones, the temple celebrated the occasion of the 700th anniversary of Eisai's death by refurbishing its structures and commissioning new imagery. Since the Edo period Kenninji had been patronized by local potters who lived and worked in its vicinity. It naturally turned to this group to join their celebration, requesting sixteen prominent potters to sculpt one Rakan each, for a total of sixteen to be installed in



7.8. Kiyomizu potters of Kyoto. Six of sixteen Rakan in the *rōmon* gate of the Founder's Hall (Kaisandō), Kenninji, Kyoto, set completed between 1911 and 1922. Low-fired (*raku*) pottery with overglaze enamels. Height of figures: between 34 and 42 cm. Daihonzan Kenninji, Kyoto. Photograph by author.

the Founder's Hall gate, a small, single-entrance, *rōmon*-type gate (fig. 7.8). The sixteen Rakan, completed between 1911 and 1922, each bear the signature and date of their makers.[41] Although Kyoto potters at the time generally preferred high-fired porcelain, for this project they used more easily modeled low-fired Raku-like clay over which they applied glossy polychrome glazes. The images are similar in size to the Five Hundred Rakan by Takahasi Hōun and Takamura Tōun for Kenchōji (see fig. 4.8), and, as in that earlier set, these sixteen Rakan resemble actual people, wise old men with distinctive personalities and physiognomies, traits accentuated by the individual artistic styles of their different makers.

In a sculptural tradition separate from images designed for worship halls, many temples had begun installing bronze statues and memorials such as pagodas in their open-air courtyards during the Edo period. Individuals or groups donated these monuments to assure the salvation of the souls of deceased relatives or to protect the living; the temples reaped the benefit of increased income in exchange. This practice continued into the Meiji era and thrives even today. Generally, through the pre–World War II era, modest-sized imagery prevailed, but one bronze Buddha, erected at the Kobe Tendai-sect temple of Nōfukuji, reached gargantuan proportions and included a unique application of modern technology[42] (fig. 7.9). Unfortunately, this statue no longer survives, having been melted down during World War II. Visitors to the temple today see a replica instead, installed in 1991.[43] Its creation reflects the prevailing interest at the time



7.9. *Great Buddha of Kobe* (*Hyōgō Daibutsu*), 1891. Cast bronze. Height: 8.5 m. From Walter Weston, *Mountaineering and Exploration in Japan in the Japanese Alps* (London: John Murray, 1896), plate opposite p. 3.

for monumental symbolic statuary, epitomized by the American Statue of Liberty (completed in 1884, it opened in 1886) (Hashizume 1998, 24).

Up to the Meiji era, the exorbitant cost and technical difficulty of casting huge Daibutsu bronze images limited their number to three: the 752 Birushana Buddha at Tōdaiji's Great Buddha Hall, the 1252 Amida at Kōtokuin in Kamakura, and the circa 1660 Shaka at Kan'eiji in Edo.[44] All these statues originally served as central icons within worship halls. By the Meiji era, though, both the Kamakura and Kan'eiji statues had lost their buildings and sat in the open.[45] Old photos, postcards, and descriptions in foreign travel writings of the Meiji and Taishō eras attest to the great popularity of these huge statues among tourists.

In 1891, after two years of construction, Nōfukuji erected a bronze Daibutsu (later popularly known as the Hyōgō Daibutsu), a great feat at the time considering the impoverished state of most temples. The temple had originally intended

to erect a new Main Hall, but it installed this statue instead at the insistence of a donor, a wealthy Kobe paper merchant named Nanjō Masahyōe. Ten abbots of various Buddhist sects and a crowd of public citizens attended a seven-day eye-opening ceremony marking its consecration (Kobe Shiyakusho 1971, 81–82). Nōfukuji's Buddha portrayed Birushana, the same Buddha that sat in the Great Buddha Hall of Tōdaij in Nara, in what must have been a bid by the temple to associate its new image with this most ancient and venerated symbol of Japan.

Soon after its completion in 1896, Walter Weston (1861–1940), an English Anglican missionary then residing in Kobe, illustrated and wrote about it in the opening section of his popular book on mountain climbing in Japan.

> The features, it is true, wear the conventional expression typical of that absolute calm and passionless condition, that Nirvana to which the devout Buddhist aspires. But on the forehead, in place of the little boss of metal that stands for the sacred "'jewel of the law,'" the artist has fixed an electric light! In some respects it is certainly a speaking likeness, a parable in bronze, of the Japan of to-day, with all the novelties of modern civilisation engrafted on the old-world ways and thoughts that have for so many centuries characterized this most remarkable race. (1896, 3)[46]

Based on this description and its close proximity to the district in which its large foreign population resided, the statue helped the temple become a popular tourist destination.[47] Nōfuku's location must have influenced the donor's decision to erect this modern-style Daibutsu amid this bustling, orderly, "quintessential foreign settlement" (Finn 1995, 64). The electric light in the forehead of this new Daibutsu reflected the city's up-to-date urban atmosphere and announced the accordance of the religion with modern times. Its placement in temple precincts, not within a building like the earlier Daibutsu statues, further attested to its more modern function as a civic rather than wholly spiritual monument, epitomizing the transformation at the time of Buddhist temples into cultural heritage sites and popular tourist attractions. This statue also initiated a trend for temples to erect Daibutsu that has escalated in recent decades, as will be discussed in chapter 9.

THIS CHAPTER HAS shown the prominent role Buddhist institutions assumed in Japanese society after the faith's initial period of persecution in the early Meiji era. This renewal came about through efforts by two groups sometimes working separately and sometimes together: devout Buddhists — both laity and clergy — associated with its institutions, who sought to reconfigure the religion as a philosophical creed in touch with modern life, and the Meiji state's political and higher-education leaders, who desired to craft a modern Japanese national identity that included Buddhist ideals, its institutions, and imagery. Temples

reprised the role they played in the cultural life of the Edo period, when regional guidebooks touted them as famous scenic destinations for pilgrims, but from the Meiji period forward visitors included both Japanese citizens and visitors from abroad. For the first time the government sanctioned this merging of cultural tourism with religious practice. These new structures at Buddhist temple complexes and the icons enshrined therein came to serve complementary needs as places for organized Buddhist institutions to minister to their legions of followers and as transnational symbols of Buddhism as a modern religion that could enlighten the world.

Still, as addressed in chapter 8, this modernization of Buddhism could not have been effected without the simultaneous efforts by other individuals—nonsectarian practitioners and those who viewed Buddhism's sacred imagery as cultural assets—to elevate its imagery, both old and new, to consideration as representative of the finest artistic creations of the nation. Only through this transformation of Buddhism's material culture into art could Buddhism's integration into the modern world become fully realized.

Chapter Eight

From Icon to Art, 1868–1945

Around the time the new Meiji leaders developed appreciation for ancient Buddhist imagery and created national museums to preserve them, these arts began to be purchased by private collectors, both Japanese and foreign. Simultaneously, artists associated with newly formed art schools turned away from representation of Buddhist themes popular in the late Edo period and drew inspiration from these newly discovered treasures, as well as from new philosophical ideas about art and religion.[1] Sometimes, they expressed their personal faith in their art, creating these works for their own contemplation, but often they showed them at public art exhibitions, both the newly conceived forum of juried exhibitions and at international expositions in Europe and the United States. This chapter addresses these critical developments, revealing how the conversion of Buddhist imagery from icon into object of aesthetic contemplation contributed to separating the faith from its institutional roots and led to Buddhism becoming an integral component of modern Japan's secular culture.

Early Collectors of Japanese Buddhist Art

For various reasons, institutions and private individuals, both Japanese and foreign, started collecting Buddhist imagery during the 1870s. Their quest was aided by opportunities created when temples sold their treasures due to financial straits and when temple transformations into Shinto shrines necessitated disposal of orthodox Buddhist imagery considered inappropriate for display in Shinto's sacred halls. One of the earliest Japanese nationals to display Buddhist icons in a secular space was Makimura Masanao (1834–1896), the vice minister

of Kyoto from 1871, who placed a once-secret image in his prefectural office. While his motivation for doing so remains unclear, it seems unrelated to belief in Buddhism. As part of his zealous campaign for modernization, which included promotion of meat consumption and wearing Western dress, he instigated the closure of many Kyoto temples and the destruction of numerous stone Buddhist images, which he ordered used as building materials.[2]

Imagery removed from Buddhist temples also included icons representing quasi-Buddhist subsidiary divinities associated with popular syncretic devotional practices.[3] This sanitization of Buddhism resulted in a loss of understanding of the significance of these heterodox icons. Modern scholarly taxonomy largely echoes this split between Buddhism and Shinto, dictating the study of each tradition's art separately. One iconographically unorthodox image is a striking, well-carved, life-sized statue of a demonic *oni* shown in the guise of a begging monk (fig. 8.1), like an *ōtsue* painting come to life. A Scandinavian collector, probably interested more in its powerful presence than its status within the Buddhist pantheon, purchased it in the late nineteenth century. Because this statue so closely resembles the pose of *Ōtsue oni nenbutsu* pictures (see fig. 4.19), it likely dates to the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century, when that imagery first became popular, and came from a temple in the Ōtsu region in the vicinity of their manufacture.[4] However, because of the multiple meanings attached to this deity, its exact function in a Buddhist hall remains unclear.

The Meiji government also began collecting ancient Buddhist art as part of its effort to preserve monuments embodying the nation's cultural heritage. In 1871 it established a national museum, which opened in 1872 within the halls of the old Tokugawa clan's family Confucian shrine in Tokyo, the Yushima Seidō. Materials for display were gathered by a team headed by the museum's first director, Machida Hisanari (1838–1897), that surveyed and occasionally appropriated the holdings of temples and shrines.[5] Machida's team did not consider the objects examined art but rather historic treasures, prefiguring the shift in the perception of Buddhist imagery from icon to art. Machida, however, was himself a devout Buddhist (Guth 1993, 106). In accordance with this new attitude, the government in 1877 sponsored the first public exhibition of Buddhist imagery. More than 1,000 objects from Nara temples were shown in the cloisters surrounding the Great Buddha Hall at Tōdaiji. It also led to the "gifting" of 319 objects from Japan's most ancient temple of Hōryūji to the Imperial Household Collection in 1878 in exchange for funds to restore the temple. In 1882 these Hōryūji treasures were transferred to the national museum when it relocated to a new building within Ueno Park in Tokyo, its present site (Guth 1993, 109).

Government agencies continued to carry out periodic surveys of temples and shrine treasures for the remainder of the century. In 1884, by order of Kuki Ryūichi, one of the most important of these inspection tours commenced, fo-



8.1. *Demon* [*Oni*] *in the Guise of a Begging Monk* (*Oni Nenbutsu*), late seventeenth or early eighteenth century. Wood with traces of paint and *gesso*. Height: 181 cm. Sydney L. Moss, Ltd. Photo courtesy of Paul Moss.

cusing on Nara-area religious institutions. Kuki had a new aim in mind — to find artifacts that demonstrated an ideal, universal aesthetic. His interest in the aesthetic qualities of these materials must have been prompted by his European sojourns. There he saw art exhibitions at museums and Japanese religious imagery on display in the Paris Exposition Universelle of 1878, on loan from prominent European collectors, including his acquaintance Emile Guimet (discussed below). Under Kuki's direction, Ernest Fenollosa and Okakura Tenshin, who later spearheaded the development of the Japanese collection of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, accompanied Japanese officials on this survey, during which Fenollosa made his famous discovery of the seventh-century statue of the Yumedono Kannon at Hōryūji.[6]

In 1888 Kuki assumed directorship of the national museum, newly revamped as an institution devoted to the arts and humanities. Previously it had been administered by the Ministry of Agriculture and Finance, but under Kuki it came under the auspices of the Ministry of the Imperial Palace and was renamed the Tokyo Imperial Museum (and later the Tokyo National Museum). In the same year, Kuki, Okakura, and others of their circle founded the monthly art journal *Kokka* to disseminate information on Japanese art, including ancient Buddhist sculpture and painting. Sculpture professor and *busshi* Takamura Kōun was among those who wrote articles for the journal.[7]

Concurrently, Kuki initiated a broader survey of the nation's religious institutions to rank the artistic merits of their possessions, not completed until 1898. Meanwhile, in 1895 the government established the Nara Imperial Museum (now the Nara National Museum) in Nara, the heartland of ancient Buddhism in Japan, as a focal point for the emerging study of the early history and Buddhist art of that region (Rosenfield 1998b, 241). By the mid-1890s recognition of the importance of Buddhist materials as art had stimulated such pervasive interest in collecting that the government used the results of Kuki's survey to propagate the 1897 cultural properties laws. In addition to protecting buildings at these religious institutions, these laws forbade the sale of the treasures they possessed by designating them Important Cultural Properties and a more exalted category, National Treasures.[8]

Kuki also collaborated with a Buddhist organization intent upon spreading Buddhist philosophy and imparting appreciation for the aesthetic qualities of early Buddhist art. In 1899 the first of a twenty-volume series, *Shimbi Taikan* (lit. "Compendium of true beauty"), was published in a bilingual Japanese-English edition, with the English title *Selected Relics of Japanese Art.* Its original publisher, the Japanese Association of the True Beauty of Buddhism (Nihon Bukkyō Shimbi Kyōkai), had offices in Kyoto within a subtemple of Kenninji, the oldest Zen temple in Kyoto. The materials published in the early volumes introduced ancient Buddhist sculptures and paintings to both Japan and the Western world

and revealed the close alliance of Buddhist intellectuals and governmental organizations, evident in Kuki's preface to the first volume.[9]

As part of his duties as museum director, Kuki chaired the juries that selected art for display at international expositions, including the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893 and the Paris Exposition Universelle of 1900. Kuki and the Shimbi Kyōkai conceived of the *Shimbi Taikan* series in conjunction with preparations for Japanese participation in the Paris exhibition, and indeed many of the objects displayed there appear in *Shimbi Taikan* volumes. Ironically, by the time it opened Kuki had been ousted from his position as museum director and a rival faction had taken charge of defining the nation's cultural heritage.[10] By then, though, the canon of Buddhist art as we know it today had been established, as is evident in the art selected for display in the 1910 Japan-British Exhibition in London. Many of those pieces are familiar still.[11] Ever since, most collectors have striven to acquire examples of Japanese Buddhist painting and carved-wood sculpture for temple altars of similar quality and dating, most created for temples patronized by the elites of the seventh through fourteenth centuries in the political capitals of Kyoto, Nara, and Kamakura.

Because a canon for Japanese art had not yet been defined when foreigners began collecting Japanese Buddhist imagery in the 1870s and early 1880s, the first foreign collectors were more open-minded, yet also ignorant, about their acquisitions. Although many foreigners acquired works during travels to Japan, stores selling Japanese art appeared as early as the 1860s in cosmopolitan cities such as Paris. Japanese dealers such as Hayashi Tadamasa (1853–1906) also began setting up shop abroad. He first came to Paris to assist with preparations for Japanese displays in the 1878 Exposition Universelle.[12]

Prior to Hayashi's arrival in Paris, Henri (Enrico) Cernuschi (1821–1896), an Italian émigré banker residing in Paris, collected a significant amount of Japanese Buddhist art during a grand Asian tour undertaken between September 1871 and early 1873. He journeyed together with his friend, the French art critic Théodore Duret (1838–1927).[13] Cernuschi was fascinated by Buddhism and frequently visited Buddhist sites. Upon arrival in Japan, he decided to specialize in collecting Buddhist bronzes and set out to find spectacular examples, especially those of monumental proportions, as such large sculptures were then all the rage in Europe. He found his collection centerpiece, a seated statue of the buddha Amida, in the courtyard of Banryūji, a temple on the outskirts of Tokyo that, like many at the time, had fallen into a state of disrepair (fig. 8.2). Although the temple lay in ruins, it was still patronized by loyal parishioners, who upon hearing of the impending removal of their icon petitioned Cernuschi, to no avail, to stop the purchase (Chang 2002, 23).

Although large Edo-period bronze buddhas like this one constituted a type of art omitted from the later designated canon, they remained popular among



8.2. *Amida Buddha,* originally from Banryūji, Meguro District, Tokyo, mid-eighteenth century. Cast bronze. Height: 440 cm. Musée Cernuschi–Musée des Arts de l'Asie de la Ville de Paris. Photograph: Michel Maucuer.

Western aficionados of Japan well into the twentieth century. The Italian engraver Edoardo Chiossone (1833–1898), who came to Japan to design the nation's first postage stamps, also collected a number of these, now displayed in his Genoa museum, but most were employed as ornaments in Japanese-style gardens.[14] Like other collectors of his time, Cernuschi's interest in Buddhist arts emerged from the perspective of colonialist chauvinism, "to illustrate a pantheon of local gods," and not because of personal faith (Chang 2002, 24). This changed as some prominent later nineteenth-century collectors, especially a group of famous Bostonians including Ernest Fenollosa, converted to Buddhism.[15] Duret helped stimulate this Western interest in Buddhism, its material culture, and Cernuschi's collection in particular in his 1874 book, *Voyage en Asie,* in which he described the Banryūji Buddha as follows.

> He is seated . . . on a lotus flower. . . . His features convey absolute calm, the absence of passion and of desire, and the stamp of this type of ecstasy particular to Buddha, who, detached from everything and freed from life, has achieved the dissolution of his own feelings, even of his personality; that is to say, all that Buddhist metaphysicians and theologians could conceive or dream, the artist has here realized in bronze.[16]

The sculpture was also reproduced in the first important book on Japanese art to be published in Europe in 1883, *L'Art japonais* by Louis Gonse (1846–1921), whose English translation came out in 1891 (Gonse 1891). The Parisian public's first opportunity to see this Buddha and the rest of the collection came when Cernuschi lent it to an exhibition at the Palais de L'Industrie from 1873 to 1874, held in conjunction with the First Congress of Orientalists. Afterwards, he transferred it to his newly built mansion in central Paris, where it served as backdrop to extravagant parties he hosted for the Parisian elite. Upon his death in 1896, Cernuschi bequeathed his home and its contents to the city of Paris, and it opened in 1898 as a public museum.

Another Parisian, Emile Guimet (1836–1918), assembled an even more extensive collection of Japanese Buddhist art. He arrived in Japan in 1876 and stayed for three months during one leg of a grand world tour. He departed for Asia after attending the First Congress of Orientalists in 1873 and probably had read Max Müller's *Introduction to the Science of Religion,* published that same year. Before his journey Guimet had also studied a German translation of an 1851 edition of the *Enlarged Edition Encompassing Various Sects of the Illustrated Compendium of Buddhist Images* (see fig. 4.10) to aid his understanding of the Buddhist pantheon.[17] This translation was made from a copy of the book that the Dutch physician Philip Franz von Siebold (1786–1866) had brought back from his trip to Japan in 1829. After arriving in Japan, Guimet promptly contacted Kuki Ryūichi, whom he had previously met in Paris. Kuki's connections opened many doors, enabling Guimet to visit numerous important shrines and temples, attend ritual services, and meet representatives of various religious organizations.

Guimet returned from his travels with some three hundred religious paintings, six hundred statues of icons, and a thousand books that he offered to have displayed at the Paris Exposition Universelle in 1878 because the museum he was constructing in his hometown of Lyons, where he intended to install them, was not quite complete (its dedication took place the following year). This museum was short-lived however, for he transferred his collection and library to a new museum he had built in Paris in 1889.[18] Among the treasures prominently displayed at the Exposition Universelle were small-scale reproductions of the statues that made up the sculpted mandala on the altar of the Lecture Hall



8.3. Yamamoto Mosuke (active 1840s–1870s). *Amida Buddha,* ca. 1876. Painted and gilt wood. Diameter: 57 cm; height of figure: 70 cm; total height (including base and mandorla): 134 cm. Musee des Arts Asiatiques–Guimet, Paris, France. Photograph: Réunion des Musées Nationaux/ Art Resources, New York.

at Tōji in Kyoto (see fig. 5.4). The Amida from the set is illustrated in figure 8.3. Guimet had commissioned these from a Kyoto Buddhist sculptor named Yamamoto Mosuke (active 1840s–1870s).[19] The fact that he commissioned these replicas and that most of his Japanese Buddhist arts date to the Edo and Meiji periods show his focus lay on their didactic importance and not their aesthetic quality or historic value.

In their quest for important representations of figures in the Buddhist pantheon, sometimes these collectors became prey to unscrupulous dealers. In 1999 conservators at the Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art in Kansas City first undertook technical analysis of a sculpture that had entered its collection in 1932 (fig. 8.4). The dealer from whom it was purchased claimed it came from the Gohyaku Rakanji in Edo (see fig. 2.7) and had identified it as the important figure of the Zen patriarch Daruma. The provenance was plausible because the Nelson statue closely resembled others known to have been removed from the temple in the late nineteenth century. Identification of this statue as Daruma was based on



8.4. Shōun Genkei (1648–1710). *Rakan,* formerly identified as *Daruma,* carved between 1691 and 1695 (or 1700) for Gohyaku Rakanji in Tokyo, but modified by an unknown carver in the early twentieth century. Wood with polychrome, gilt, and crystal eyes (added in the early twentieth century). Height: 87 cm. The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, Missouri. Purchase: Nelson Trust, 32-75.

the statue's appearance: it possessed Daruma's characteristic wide-eyed gaze and head covering. However, X-rays revealed that modern, machine-made nails held both the crystal eyes and cowl in place and that this head covering, while compositionally indistinguishable from the body, inexplicably covered perfectly formed ears.

In 2001 I visited the temple and confirmed that the set's original Daruma remained in situ and that none of the statues possessed crystal eyes. Apparently the Nelson statue was modified by a dealer catering to the foreign market in the early twentieth century. The temple and its statues had sustained significant damage during the anti-Buddhist fervor of the early Meiji period, and disparate body parts from broken images were strewn about. When temple priests pieced them back together around the time of relocation in 1908, some heads ended up on the wrong bodies and other figures remained incomplete and were apparently discarded. Such chaos accounts for the availability of the spare cowl that must have been added to the Nelson's Rakan at the time. After recutting

the face to insert crystal eyes, the dealer was able to transform the image into Daruma.

Such deception was not an isolated instance.[20] Further exemplifying this situation is a story recounted by one of Fenollosa's admirers, Charles Lang Freer (1854–1919), the American industrialist collector who bequeathed his magnificent collection to the Smithsonian Institution. Freer first visited Japan in 1895. During his second excursion in 1907, his fame preceded him. Collectors and dealers treated him with great courtesy. On one occasion, acquaintances took him to a rundown, ancient temple where the priests offered him all their treasures. After two days of studying the art and nearly buying most of it, he deduced that all the monks were actually dealers in disguise. When he later told this tale to friends, Freer bemoaned that between his first trip and this second one, rampant Westernization and thirst for wealth and power had changed Japan for the worse. Although he did not state his opinion on the authenticity of the art he saw at this temple, undoubtedly some of it was bogus (Lawton and Merrill 1993, 73–74).

As Okakura and Fenollosa helped generate appreciation for the new canon of Japanese art, many Western collectors developed enthusiasm for authentic examples of older Buddhist imagery. While many treasures did enter foreign collections then, sometimes foreigners' limited knowledge of the material resulted in their acquisition of some highly sophisticated forgeries as well. This situation is just as acute for painting as it is for sculpture, although in the former case icons were not assembled from damaged old pieces but made anew. Even Okakura and Fenollosa could not spot all these problem paintings. Their acquisitions for the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, contain many Buddhist paintings actually made in the late nineteenth century but purchased as earlier works.[21]

However, Japanese painters did not always copy the styles of past masters to intentionally deceive. Artists routinely copied famous old paintings as part of their training, and the iconographic accuracy required of Buddhist paintings encouraged emulation of the work of famous masters such as Minchō, as previously discussed. Also, copies of religious paintings had long been made by order of political leaders and temples to preserve pictures that served as invaluable records in cases when the original could be (or had been) lost to fire. In addition, sometimes sect headquarters had copies of important works made for distribution to their affiliate branches in the provinces to disseminate doctrine. Yet when Buddhist persecution and impoverishment of temples in the Meiji period left professional Buddhist painters unemployed, some turned to producing forgeries for prosperous, unsuspecting foreign buyers.

Other potential forgers had studied at the Tokyo School of Fine Arts, which trained students to be proficient in copying ancient Buddhist imagery.[22] The uncanny verisimilitude of the copies by artists trained at this school exceeded those

of the past, for they copied not only the forms of the older works, but also used old materials to replicate the antique, sometimes damaged appearance of the originals. Some professors of this school and their students embarked on study tours of images in Nara and Kyoto temples, during which time they created copies intended for display at the nearby Tokyo Imperial Museum, where Okakura also served as head of the art section. These copies were necessitated because temples did not then lend their possessions to museums, and the national museum needed Buddhist art to display for the edification of the general public. The high quality of these copies makes them difficult to distinguish from the originals.[23] Fenollosa and Okakura encouraged the production and display of these copies in emulation of similar practices at European museums of the time.

The short step from copy to forgery is illustrated by a forgery made at this time but originally purchased as a late twelfth-century painting. It represents a deity identified as Kujaku Myōō (Skt. Mahāmayūrī), the Peacock King, although it lacks some of that deity's characteristic iconographic details (fig. 8.5). It most closely resembles a thirteenth-century Kamakura (or Korean) painting of Kujaku Myōō at Hōryūji, suggesting that its Meiji-period artist had studied Hōryūji's paintings.[24] The original owner, John B. Trevor, was a friend of Freer and had accompanied him on a trip to Japan, where this painting was purchased.[25] It is a beautiful, skillfully rendered image. But because of its problematic iconography, it seems unlikely to have been by the hand of a Buddhist painting specialist, who would have known that proper identification of deities in art was crucial to activating the efficacy of the deity whose likeness was represented. Although it appears to be very old, with evidence of multiple repairs at different times, examination under ultraviolet light revealed that some areas of repainting and repair that should fluoresce differently did not and that the paint at the ends of the tail feathers had been rubbed off after painting, seemingly in an attempt to make them appear aged. All these factors suggest that the painting was created with the intent to deceive.

The extensive collecting and copying of ancient Buddhist icons in the late Meiji period gave rise to the popular perception that these religious objects were best appreciated as historic and artistic monuments. While helping to preserve these treasures, the 1897 law for protection of objects in temple and shrine collections hastened their transformation into aestheticized relics of a bygone age. By the 1930s, so alien to the modern way of life had traditional Buddhist imagery become that when the Kyoto Nihonga painter Nakajima Kiyoshi (1899–1989) entered his picture, *Old Paintings,* depicting a woman in Western dress standing disinterestedly before a glass museum case containing ancient Japanese esoteric Buddhist paintings in a 1937 juried exhibition, it won a major prize (Menzies 1998, 120 [pl. 26]). But not all Buddhist paintings displayed in museums had lost their religious potency. As the remainder of this chapter will show, secular art-



8.5. *Kujaku Myōō,* Meiji period, late nineteenth century. Hanging scroll; ink and colors on silk, 137.1 × 85.7 cm. The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Kansas City, Missouri. Gift of Bronson Trevor in memory of his father, John. B. Trevor, 76-10/10.

ists were also creating a new type of Buddhist art for display in museums rather than religious institutions, and these were appreciated by contemporary audiences as much for their aesthetic qualities as for their spirituality.

New Buddhist Imagery for Aesthetic Appreciation

Concurrent with the rise of urban commoner culture in the Edo period, temples became transformed into places of popular entertainment. Artists such as Hishikawa Moronobu (see fig. 5.9) created Buddhist imagery for the amusement and aesthetic appreciation of their audiences rather than as formal icons for temples. After the social and economic upheaval of the Meiji Restoration, the appeal of this type of painting remained strong, particularly among middle-class, urban audiences whose daily lives continued as before. Not until later

in the Meiji period, with the establishment of the new art schools that trained aspiring artists to simultaneously look back to the distant past and to the artistic traditions of the West for inspiration, did artists begin to represent Buddhist subjects differently. Because of the importance accorded to art in the Meiji period, these images, displayed prominently in newly opened museums and at well-attended juried exhibitions, possessed the power to influence public perception, contributing to reshaping the image of Buddhism in modern Japan.

During the early and mid-Meiji era, before Edo-period values completely faded from memory, the preeminent artist of popular Buddhist themes was Kawanabe Kyōsai (1831–1889). He had trained prior to the Meiji Restoration first with the ukiyoe artist Utagawa Kuniyoshi (1797–1861), whom he revered, and then later with the Kano school atelier in Edo that Kano Tōhaku (see plate 9) headed previously. Because of Kyōsai's predilection for dissolute behavior and passion for painting wild, sardonic pictures, he parted company with the conservative Kano school and set out on his own. Kyōsai's Buddhist-themed pictures, many brushed with wild abandon, captured the fancy of a public obsessed with grotesque, violent imagery, often in representations of the Buddhist hells. As already noted, these themes had steadily gained in popularity throughout the Edo period, and they remained an important subject well into the Meiji in part because of Kyōsai.

One of Kyōsai's most popular renditions, repeated in numerous versions, portrayed a lady known as the Hell Courtesan (Jigoku Dayu), so named from the pattern of her kimono that depicted scenes from the Buddhist hells[26] (fig. 8.6). The subject derives from a story associated with the medieval-era Rinzai Zen priest Ikkyū, who was legendary for his fondness for engaging both Buddhist devotees and cynics, including a courtesan nicknamed Jigoku Dayu, in lively dialogues on Buddhist philosophy. Kyōsai's picture pairs her with Enma, judge of the underworld, who decides the fate of the newly deceased by seeing their sins in his infamous karma mirror. In Kyōsai's paintings, Enma is himself shown to have sinned; his mirror reveals his lust for Jigoku Dayu.

Although records indicate that Kyōsai responded to the whims of his public in the Buddhist subjects he chose to represent, they also reflect his devout faith, evident in the fact that he painted daily a picture of the bodhisattva Kannon.[27] This may explain why pious Buddhist priests and laity commissioned his paintings. Sometimes monks used them as visual props (*etoki*) during sermons. One lay follower had Kyōsai brush a forty-page album in 1872, *A Journey Around Hell and Paradise* (one page is illustrated here), to aid in the salvation of his young daughter, who had died two years before (plate 22).[28] At the time Kyōsai completed this painting, persecution of Buddhism had just begun to abate, and modernization efforts of the new Meiji politicians were getting underway. Kyōsai responded by invoking the past but also inserting images of the new era



8.6. Kawanabe Kyōsai (1831–1889). *Enma, King of Hell, Examining a Painting of the Hell Courtesan Jigoku Dayu.* Hanging scroll; ink and colors on silk, 117.5 × 51.8 cm. Collection of Etsuko and Joe Price. Photograph courtesy of the Los Angeles County Museum of Art.

in the album. Many scenes, and indeed the style of his painting, derive from traditional forms, but his representation of a steam engine (actual train service was first begun in Japan later that year) that carries the deceased to paradise in this triumphant scene illustrates the encroachment of modernity. These two examples of Kyōsai's paintings show his gift for invoking an emotional response in his viewers, causing them to reconsider preconceived notions about Buddhism. Such originality, coupled with his dynamic, outgoing personality, helps explain his popularity with foreign collectors as well.[29]

While Kyōsai was busy turning out art for patrons with interests in popular Buddhist themes, reassessment of ancient Buddhist imagery as the nation's artistic patrimony had begun. To help document the findings of the survey of 1872, Machida Hisanari engaged Morikawa Toen (1820–1894), a self-taught sculptor (not a professional *busshi*), to make copies of some of the newly discovered materials.[30] Machida also mentored another aspiring sculptor, Takeuchi Hisakazu (alt. Kyūichi, 1857–1916), who later became one of the most influential artists and teachers of his generation. Hisakazu, a native of Edo and son of an ukiyoe artist, had started his career specializing in ivory sculptures and netsuke, but after a visit to Nara temples in 1880, he became so inspired by what he saw that he turned to wood sculpture. Between 1882 and 1885 he lived in Nara, studying and copying old sculptures at temples under the tutelage of Toen and helped guide Fenollosa and Okakura to religious sites in the area during their fateful survey in 1884. Hisakazu joined the faculty of the newly created Tokyo School of Fine Arts at its inception, where, together with Takamura Kōun and another ivory carver turned wood sculptor, Ishikawa Mitsuaki (alt. Kōmei; 1852–1913), he taught students to carve original wood sculptures inspired by Buddhist sculptures of the past.

Hisakazu and his colleagues also significantly contributed to Japan's effort to impress Western nations by creating sculptures for the World's Columbian Exhibition in Chicago in 1893. This exhibition marks an important juncture in Japan's efforts to define its cultural identity.[31] Because Okakura served as a member of the vast committee that selected objects for the fair, he arranged for the inclusion of the art of his school's faculty and for them to create interior room decorations for the Japanese national building (Okakura 1893). Hisakazu's large, polychrome wood statue of Gigeiten (plate 23), the Buddhist goddess considered a patroness of the arts and who is now nearly forgotten, was placed at the entrance to the Japanese art exhibition in the Palace of Fine Arts. Japan had long petitioned to have some of its displays exhibited together with the fine arts of other nations at these expositions, but this was the first time such permission was granted, an honor accorded to no other non-Western nation. Japan was particularly pleased to have the work of its sculptors represented here rather than

with other handicrafts in the Manufactures and Liberal Arts building, where wood carving normally would have been shown.

Although Hisakazu's sculpture occupied a prominent place in the Japanese fine art display, it failed to win any prizes for its artistic prowess, unlike Takamura Kōun's spectacularly naturalistic life-sized wooden carving of *Aged Monkey,* which did.[32] Yet the independent-minded author of the English-language descriptive catalogue of selections of art from various nations selected Gigeiten as the lone Japanese sculpture (along with several paintings) to illustrate and described it as follows.

> On a pedestal in the East Court is a life-size statue in wood, very carefully painted, multitudinous in detail, by Kyuichi [Hisakazu] Takeuchi, of Gigeiten, of a Buddhist mythological personage, name not given, reproduced in our illustration. Here the outlandish art still appeals to us, we see in addition to the extraordinary technical skill in rendering detail of the artist, a mysterious, uneasy life in his figure—not at all that which we have been in the habit of meeting in mythological personages, but undoubtedly there, as may be seen very clearly by looking at the face in our illustration. (Walton 1893, 88–90)

Hisakazu designed this statue for display at the fair on the advice of Okakura, who was then intent on reviving appreciation for classical Buddhist sculpture. But Hisakazu did not select the figure for its importance within the hierarchy of Buddhist deities, for Gigeiten rarely appears in the visual arts. Rather, he took as his model a rare image of the deity from the Nara temple of Akishinodera, admired for the expressive qualities of its face, with mouth open as if in song. Hisakazu's statue actually bears little resemblance to the original. His is brightly colored, wearing elaborately layered robes bound with flowing sashes. The more simply attired original wears monastic robes traditionally worn by bodhisattva.[33] He must have chosen this allegorical subject to appeal to foreign visitors with little prior knowledge of Buddhism to help link Japan's artistic traditions to that of the West's Greco-Roman past, many of whose gods also personified civilization's achievements. Still, the catalogue's description of it as "mythological" and "outlandish" reveals how alien and old-fashioned the subject seemed to a Western audience steeped in the ideals of the Enlightenment, suggestive of why it failed to win an award. Its failure to do so also explains its subsequent obscurity and the tendency of modern Japanese sculptors after this time to avoid Buddhist subjects in their quest for international recognition.[34]

Among the students to enroll in the sculpture program at the Tokyo School of Fine Arts during its first year was Niiro Chūnosuke (1868–1954), of samurai descent, from Kagoshima on Japan's southern island of Kyushu. Chūnosuke completed the course by 1892 but continued on as a special student, during which time he garnered prizes for his work in school competitions. His gradu-



8.7. Niiro Chūnosuke (1868-1954). *Daruma Crossing the Sea*, 1894. Wood. Height without base: 74.5 cm; height with base: 110.6 cm. The University Art Museum, Tokyo National University of Fine Arts and Music.

ation piece of 1894, *Daruma Crossing the Sea* (fig. 8.7) displays the qualities that made his work much admired. It embodies the aims of the school, which sought to resurrect the dynamism of ancient sculpture but simultaneously capture a sense of modernity. Chūnosuke portrayed Daruma during a famous incident from his life, miraculously crossing the Yangtze River to reach the north of China while balanced on a tiny reed. Premodern Japanese artists had typically represented this subject in painting rather than sculpture. By altering the medium, Chūnosuke created an unexpected interpretation of a venerable theme, endowing the patriarch with an unprecedented sense of corporality. Still, the billowing robes, fleshy chest, and facial expression undoubtedly derive from the artist's close study of old sculptures of the Nara and Kamakura periods.

Chūnosuke became a professor at the school after he graduated, but when political disputes resulted in Okakura's dismissal in 1898, Chūnosuke left his

post to follow his mentor to a new private school Okakura founded, the Japan Art Institute (Nihon Bijutsuin) (Conant et al. 1995, 102–103). In 1901 Chūnosuke moved to Nara to head the Japan Art Institute's newly established conservation institution there. For the remainder of his life, Chūnosuke devoted himself to the restoration of Buddhist sculptures at many important temples throughout Japan, repairing over one thousand works in all. He also continued to create copies of old Buddhist sculptures and occasionally carved original sculptures of Buddhist themes as well, closely modeled on famous works of the past. Although he trained as a modern sculptor, his approach to his art was more like a *busshi,* who deemphasized self-expression. Consequently, only recently have scholars begun to recognize his importance.[35] Most often, modern artists inspired by Buddhism expressed their faith more personally and showed their art in new, secular venues for artists.

Buddhism as Inspiration to Interwar Artists

Newly emerging philosophies in the interwar period, lasting from the end of the Russo-Japanese War in 1905 to the beginning of World War II in 1940 and centering on the intertwined nature of religion, spirituality, and art, profoundly impacted the relationship of artists to Buddhism. These ideas stemmed from the introduction of the ideas of European intellectuals, especially the Germans. As antecedent, during the nineteenth century, various religious and philosophical movements had encouraged their followers to seek personal cultivation (J. Sawada 2004). When fused with Western philosophies, this self-absorption led intellectuals on deeper quests to "define the necessities of their own spiritual existence. A generation found itself asking where the uniqueness of an individual might lie. Further, did that uniqueness constitute his or her freedom, and if so, how could it be manifested, particularly in relation to a society that, officially at least, seemed increasingly suspicious of individual choice?" (Rimer 1990, 4)

Intellectuals disseminated these ideas to the broader population through the new mass media of journals and newspapers, as well as through art exhibitions sponsored by newly formed associations of artists, created in rebellion against the conservatism of official, government-sponsored shows. One of the most important of these journals, *Shirakaba* (White birch), published between 1910 and 1923 under the auspices of the intellectual association of the same name, included articles by many of the era's young and idealistic humanists, who introduced readers to the latest European philosophy and the history of its artistic and literary traditions. The journal's founders were a small group of affluent graduates from Tokyo's elite colleges, Gakushuin (Peer's School) and Tokyo University. One of its founders and chief editor, Yanagi Sōetsu, who later spearheaded the *mingei* movement, encouraged a shift in its focus to appreciation of

Buddhist arts through articles equating sixth- to eighth-century Japanese Buddhist art with the great tradition of European medieval religious art.[36]

Among the era's most influential writers was the sculptor, poet, and art critic Takamura Kōtarō (1883–1956), son of sculptor Takamura Kōun (see fig. 7.6), whose most famous essay, penned in 1910 and titled "Green Sun" (Midori iro no taiyō), counseled artists to experiment and imbue their works with individuality in the spirit of Western artists.[37] Western-trained trans-sectarian academic scholars of Buddhism also greatly affected artists' attitudes towards the religion. These include D. T. Suzuki, who later taught about Zen at Columbia University in New York and was the foremost early scholar of the Kyoto school of philosophy founded by Suzuki's friend Nishida Kitarō (1870–1945), professor at Kyoto Imperial University (now Kyoto University) between 1913 and 1928. Nishida and his immediate disciples made Kyoto the center for studies that fused Western philosophical concepts about spiritual devotion, appreciation of nature, and artistic creativity with non-sectarian Buddhist thought.[38] Understandably, his ideas influenced Yanagi Sōetsu's conception of *mingei* theory (Kikuchi 2004, 6–7). Nishida's ideas also helped free artists from regarding Buddhist images as objects that served the didactic and liturgical needs of formal institutions and led to their exploration of Buddhism as a philosophy capable of inspiring artistic creativity as an outgrowth of spiritual explorations into the relationship of the self with the universal state of nothingness.

Other intellectuals, writing soon after Buddhist monks began traveling to South Asia in the early twentieth century, also developed an interest in exploring Buddhism's Indian roots and echoed those clerics' claims of Buddhism's universal relevancy and preeminence in Japan. Among these scholars, Takada Dōken (1858–1923), writing in 1904, emphasized the importance of the laity to the faith from its beginning. He offered as exemplars of the past the Japanese prince Shōtoku (574–622), regarded as the father of Japanese Buddhism, and Yuima (Skt. Vimalakirti), a devout lay disciple of the Buddha in India, legendary for wisdom that surpassed that of bodhisattvas and the Rakan. Okakura and Fenollosa had previously encouraged Nihonga painters under their tutelage to portray Prince Shōtoku because of his significance in shaping Japanese history and Shaka and his immediate followers for similar reasons, because of their roles as humanistic teachers who had initiated the spread of Buddhism to Japan.[39] Dōken's highlighting of these early Buddhist teachers and the general interest at the time in understanding Buddhism as taught by the faith's earthly founder, Shaka, helps explain the frequent occurrence of these figures in modern Buddhist imagery.

By lauding Prince Shōtoku, intellectuals linked Pan-Asian Buddhism with the rediscovery of their own nation's Buddhist past that had begun in the early Meiji era and culminated with the first cultural properties protection law in

1897. Soon after the law's enactment, intellectuals who supported the restitution of Buddhist sites as both spiritual and historic monuments began visiting Nara temples and writing of their experiences. Characterizing their response, the philosopher Watsuji Tetsurō (1889–1960), who traveled to Nara in 1917, argued that "the Taishō *ought* to be an era like the Tempyō," the cosmopolitan Nara period at its height in the eighth century, when the Silk Route connected Japan with the Asian continent (La Fleur 1990, 251).

Such comments compelled some Interwar artists to look to the Buddhism of both ancient India and of old Nara for artistic inspiration. These artists, born between the late 1880s and early 1900s, studied at Japan's new art schools or were encouraged to pursue artistic experimentation by reading the new literary and art journals. Most came from the Kyoto area or were inspired by journeys there. Only occasionally did they create art for use by temples. More often they competed in juried painting exhibitions, sold art to private collectors, or created it as a form of personal devotional expression. Their varied artistic styles reveal how individualized visual expression of faith had become and, conversely, the profound changes in the nature of faith itself. Although their art integrated, in varying degrees, awareness of European art and Buddhist imagery of the Indian subcontinent, the main underlying current remained their response to traditional Japanese Buddhist imagery. It marks the first time that nondenominational Buddhism served as a catalyst for religious imagery apart from its institutions as a response to intellectual discourse. Significantly, these artists greatly contributed to refocusing public interest in the faith's spiritual ideals.

Among these artists, the Kyoto native Dōmoto Inshō (1891–1975) had the longest life span and most diverse oeuvre.[40] Studious and introspective, he spent an unusually long time at his studies, only completing his formal education after age thirty. After initially training to design crafts, he studied Nihonga at the Kyoto Municipal Special School of Painting (Kyoto Shiritsu Kaiga Senmon Gakkō), then privately with the Nihonga painter Nishiyama Suishō (1878–1958). Subsequently, he sought to expand his stylistic range by traveling to China in the 1920s and experimenting with a variety of artistic styles, both native and foreign. Inshō tried his hand at a variety of themes, but from early on and throughout his career Buddhist subjects, inspired by his study of Buddhist texts and imagery, figured prominently in his work, although his first writings about his outlook towards Buddhism date to the early 1940s.[41] By then, Inshō had become famous as an artist whose deeply introspective and sincere nature and intensely focused pursuit of art were closely identified by the public with Buddhist ideals. His Buddhist-themed paintings had won prizes in juried exhibitions, and he had completed numerous commissions for large-scale paintings at prominent Buddhist temples, including the dragon (1933) on the ceiling of Tōfukuji's new Main Hall, which opened in 1934 (see fig. 7.3). This esteemed reputation must

have accounted for his being selected to create wall paintings for two prominent Buddhist temples patronized by nationalist supporters of Japan's expansion into Asia: Shitennōji in Osaka (1939) and Kongōbuji at the Shingon headquarters at Mount Kōya (1936 and 1942). To avoid tarnishing his reputation, scholars rarely address this aspect of his work, because it belongs to an era most people would rather forget, when Buddhist temples allied themselves with proponents of an imperialist war. Consequently, Buddhist art of this period by Inshō and others is difficult to study.[42]

Representative of Inshō's Buddhist paintings from this early period is his large, ethereal portrait, *Yuima with a Group of Bodhisattvas and the Ten Great Disciples of the Buddha* (plate 24), completed in 1923, one year after he entered a painting of similar style, also of a religious subject, in the third-annual, juried, government-sponsored Teiten exhibition.[43] Surrounding the central figure of Yuima are the Buddha's ten great disciples and a group of bodhisattvas. Inshō's powerful painting, done just when interest was peaking in lay Buddhism, must have elicited empathy in viewers with his reverential portrayal of Yuima, seated in the characteristic lotus pose of a buddha.

This painting represents Inshō's amalgam of diverse painting styles. Although ostensibly a Nihonga painter whose aesthetic and technical roots lay in traditional Japanese painting, here he fuses Japanese and Western painting styles. Despite its orthodox representation of Buddhist iconography, its imaginative composition, the figures' proportions and flowing drapery, and the naturalistic shading and large-scale format reveal his familiarity with Italian Renaissance altar paintings. Originally, Inshō intended to submit this painting to the prestigious Teiten juried exhibition in 1923, but that event was cancelled due to the Great Kantō earthquake so he submitted it to another official exhibition. His later paintings, in a radically different style, will be discussed in chapter 10.

Inshō's slightly elder contemporary, Hada (Hata) Teruo (1887–1945), also from Kyoto, discovered Buddhism in a different way, and his paintings reflect his unique perspective.[44] Teruo's family seems to have been Christian, a faith many of the era found inspirational. Teruo's father died when he was nine, and he grew up in an impoverished household. To help support his family, he began training for a practical career as an industrial crafts designer at the Kyoto Municipal School of Arts and Crafts (Kyoto Shiritsu Bijutsu Kōgei Gakkō).[45] Teruo's education included classes in Nihonga, which apparently piqued his interest more than his required classes in the commercial art. After graduation, he joined a coterie of painters who sought to modernize Nihonga by incorporating Western painting styles and techniques. The group eventually disbanded, in part because of Teruo's unwillingness to compromise his artistic ideals. Later, he wrote that by 1907 he had begun to question his faith in Christianity and become aware of the need for art to reflect the harsh realities of life. He also wrote that this trans-

formation in his thoughts about art came from his awakening to the power of religion to effect social change. Based on his later artistic output, the religion he refers to in this statement certainly must have included Buddhism.[46] His ideas must have been informed by his awareness of the work of European artists who specialized in social critiques, gleaned from reading journals such as *Shirakaba* and also from publicity about recent humanitarian efforts of intrasect Buddhist organizations that offered aid to Japanese troops during Japan's wars with China and Russia.[47]

Teruo's search for creation of a socially relevant art led him to move to Tokyo in 1915, where he immersed himself in the city's working-class environment, painting gritty industrial scenes and bleak portrayals of naked prostitutes, some crawling towards a dark pool of water and titled with references to the "Blood Pool" of the Buddhist hells (as seen in Ten Worlds mandala pictures, plate 8).[48] In 1919, following a serious illness, he found happiness in marriage and the birth of his son. These events prompted him to leave the capital in 1921 and relocate closer to his family in Kyoto, eventually settling in a small town near Nara. He remained there for the duration of his life, totally absorbed with his study of old Japanese Buddhist art and the painting of new Buddhist icons, which he created for temples, private patrons, and occasional public exhibition in commercial galleries.

Representative of these pictures is his triptych of the buddha Shaka flanked by Monju and Fugen, completed around 1936 (fig. 8.8). Although Teruo mounted the pictures in the traditional hanging-scroll format, unlike older icons, which float serenely in blank space, he so completely filled the picture with his huge images that their forms are dramatically cut off at the sides. He also departed from traditional icon representation by using the Western medium of black chalk rather than Japanese mineral colors and *sumi* ink. His sketch-like drawing and the dark shading that defined the corporeality of the forms imparted a modern feeling to the painting. But his distortion of the figures' proportions, especially the over-large size of the hands of the Buddha, indicate his familiarity with seventh-century Buddhist sculptures from Nara.

Murakami Kagaku (1888–1939) is another artist of this era closely identified with Buddhism.[49] Although he was born into an impoverished household near Osaka, a wealthy aunt adopted him. Like Teruo, Kagaku began training for a practical career in the arts at the Kyoto Municipal School of Arts and Crafts. Upon graduation in 1909, he entered the Kyoto Municipal Special School of Painting. Even before completing that course in 1911, he had begun submitting paintings to and winning awards at prestigious juried exhibitions. Like Inshō, a painting with a Buddhist subject won him a top prize at an early competition, the 1916 Bunten. But this acceptance by the art establishment proved sporadic, and soon he and



8.8. Hada Teruo (1887–1945). *The Buddha Shaka with Attendant Bodhisattvas Fugen and Monju*, ca. 1936. Set of three hanging scrolls; charcoal ink and oil on paper, each 129.7 × 30.6 cm. Hoshino Gallery, Kyoto.

four other similarly disillusioned artist friends founded the Association for the Creation of National Painting (Kokuga Sōsaku Kyōkai) in 1918. Their manifesto indicated their utmost respect for artistic creativity and individuality and regarded art as "a singular, symbolic religion."[50] This group held well-received exhibitions of members' works nearly annually in Kyoto and Tokyo and occasionally in Osaka until it dissolved in 1928, although Kagaku participated only through 1926. After that, poor health and the death of his adopted father forced his retirement to his family home in Ashiya, near Kobe.

Only then, when he eschewed participation in the competitive art scene and found spiritual solace in his art, did he enter his most productive period of activity, attracting numerous patrons for his mesmerizing paintings of evocative mountain landscapes and sinuous visions of bodhisattvas. Characteristic of his Buddhist paintings is an early example, completed in 1924, portraying a seated, meditating bodhisattva holding a sacred jewel (plate 25). Kagaku's fine iron-wire outline technique, soft pink flesh tones, and the bodhisattva's languid, dreamy facial expression betray his study of the mural paintings of both India's first-century Ajanta caves and Hōryūji's seventh-century Main Hall wall paintings, which were both famous and widely published in his day. His indebtedness to them is well documented. The optimistic and contemplative aura of the painting contrasts starkly with the more somber Buddhist imagery of his contemporary, Hada Teruo.

Inshō, Teruo, and Kagaku had all spent their formative years in the intellectual environs of Kyoto, learning at its modern schools, surrounded by its ancient Buddhist treasures. Although each one developed his own vision, the art of all three reveals a sophisticated knowledge of various intellectual and artistic currents. In contrast, Munakata Shikō (1903–1975), a native of Aomori Prefecture at the northern tip of Honshu island, in Japan's far north, first visited Kyoto much later, after years of living in Tokyo as a struggling artist. By the Interwar period, so widespread had Western learning become that even in remote Aomori Munakata had the opportunity to learn about Western-style oil paintings. He credits the work of Vincent van Gogh with inspiring him to venture to Tokyo to pursue a career as a Western-style painter. In Tokyo, though, exposure to modern woodblock prints created by Japanese artists who carved their own woodblocks (unlike premodern Japanese printmakers, who functioned primarily as designers and left production of the actual print to specialist artisans) led him in another artistic direction.

Munakata first visited Kyoto in 1936 at the invitation of the potter Kawai Kanjirō (1890–1966), a friend of Yanagi Sōetsu and fellow founder of the *mingei* movement. Kawai had learned of the artist from Yanagi and their mutual friend and *mingei* movement founder, the potter Hamada Shōji (1894–1978). Yanagi and Hamada had happened to see Munakata's work displayed at a Tokyo exhibition.

Yanagi and his cohorts found in Munakata's art a sincerity of purpose and lack of pretentiousness that was in accord with their mature definition of *mingei* aesthetics, which they had formulated by the time they met Munakata.[51] Their theory posited that *mingei* objects were exemplary products of Japan's unique traditional culture, a concept in tune with the fervent nationalistic sentiment of the era. Yanagi and his associates believed that *mingei* played a critical role in defining Japan's modern cultural identity in relation to that of both the Asian mainland and of the West (Brandt 1996, 90). They especially appreciated the fact that Munakata, a self-proclaimed modern artist, worked in a manner that they could define as both *mingei* and modern.

Soon after their meeting, Kawai helped to promote Munakata as a Buddhist-inspired *mingei* artist by writing about him in the group's journal, *Kōgei* (Craftwork). There he described Munakata as an artist who stripped his being of ego—in other words, someone who worked from an awakened state of consciousness now described as the Buddha Mind. Only after that article appeared did Munakata astutely assert the centrality of this Buddhist notion of selflessness to his artistic practice (Hockley 2004, 81). Using Buddhist metaphors, he later defined himself as a modern Buddhist artist, writing often about his religious passion for his woodblocks and his following the "way" of the woodblock print, as in the following: "The essence of *hanga* (woodblock print) lies in the fact that one must give in to the ways of the board. . . . There is a power in the board, and one cannot force the tool against that power. It is the power which lies outside the artist, rather than any power within him, that dominates the creation of *hanga*."[52]

In Kyoto, Munakata spent several weeks attending Kawai's lectures about Buddhist philosophy and its icons and soon, with the encouragement of these *mingei*-movement mentors, began featuring Buddhist figures in his art. Like Yanagi, Kawai also admired the sculpture of the Edo-period Buddhist monk Mokujiki, whose work he collected. The example illustrated in this book comes from his personal collection (see fig. 6.8). These rough, simple carvings must have inspired Munakata's Buddhist imagery, which share an intuitive appeal and joyous energy. Munakata worked with the frenetic vigor of a sculptor, bypassing what many artists would consider an essential step in the production process by drawing and then carving directly into the block without a preparatory sketch to guide him. He used this method for his early, large, and widely celebrated series of prints, *Ten Great Disciples of the Buddha Shaka and Two Bodhisattva,* in 1939, two panels of which are illustrated in figure 8.9.[53] Munakata considered the woodblock itself so precious that he strove to utilize its entire surface, which resulted in these large-scale, dramatic figures. He noted later that at the time he created this series, he "wanted to carve ten of every possible face, every form, and every person" (Singer and Kakeya 2002, 55), following a tradition established



8.9. Munakata Shikō (1903–1975). Two of Buddha's disciples, from the set *Ten Great Disciples of the Buddha Shaka and Two Bodhisattvas,* 1939. Two-panel screen (from a set of six); woodblock print in ink on paper. 100.5 × 50.5 cm. Chiba City Museum of Art.

by Edo-period carvers of Rakan who drew inspiration from the ordinary people in the world around them.

Munakata's dynamic spirit as well as his working methods and various statements about Buddhism and creativity have led to the perception of him as a Zen-influenced artist, an impression he cultivated particularly in visits abroad after World War II.[54] Although Munakata's Buddhist art appears entirely different from that of the other Interwar artists introduced here, his also developed in response to the intellectual climate of that time. All these artists turned to Buddhist imagery for intensely personal reasons, without regard for the whims of the art establishment, and developed distinctive styles for Buddhist subjects. They borrowed freely from Western art and philosophy in order to instill new life into traditional religious themes, and they completely absorbed themselves in their work, which itself became their path of self-cultivation.

Complex circumstances coalesced to initiate a profound reconfiguration of the perception and production of Buddhist imagery at this critical juncture in the religion's history in Japan. Over the course of about sixty years in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, for the first time Buddhist material culture became appreciated for reasons other than religious efficacy, and artists working outside formal institutions began to create secular art inspired by the faith's spiritual values. This chapter opened with an assessment of the various stages in the collecting of Buddhist imagery, for this activity significantly contributed to this transformation. The artists introduced here — sculptors, painters, and a printmaker — who chose to represent Buddhist icons for various professional and personal reasons, reveal a gradual synthesis of Buddhist religious ideals and aesthetic values. They discovered in Buddhism a source of creativity and a means to express their individuality, some by looking back to the past and others to Indian Asia. The following chapters of this book explore the continuance of these artistic directions in the post–World War II period as well as the assessment of recent art created for Buddhist institutions.

Chapter Nine

Buddhist Sites of Worship, 1945–2005

WORLD WAR II dramatically changed the architectural landscape of Japan. Previously, wooden structures predominated. Afterwards, increasingly stringent fire-prevention codes, better access to foreign building materials, and new technologies encouraged the construction of buildings — including Buddhist worship halls traditionally made of timber — of reinforced concrete and other modern building materials. Japanese architects embraced modernist styles of architecture — buildings erected using modern materials, stripped of extraneous ornamentation, and designed for ease of use — as much for technical virtuosity as for aesthetics and practicality.[1] These structures also contributed to projecting a desired aura of modernity in the appearance of Japan's built environment.

Earlier in the twentieth century, some temples had utilized these materials, but the practice remained sporadic. Only after the war, with the expansion of urban fire-prevention districts in the early 1950s to encompass most temple compounds, did reinforced concrete construction become widespread at temples.[2] Yet because Japanese building codes allow officials to defer to local preferences, temples can still obtain permission to construct wood-framed structures. Nevertheless, most recent temple buildings are composed of modern materials, sometimes mimicking older timber-framed buildings and sometimes creating wholly new types of religious spaces, light-filled and comfortable, in accordance with principles of modern design. In premodern Japan, although each Buddhist sect required slightly different building types, certain consistent stylistic elements identified all their buildings as Buddhist. Not so for recent Buddhist monuments. These diverse structures reflect the varied nature of Buddhist practice in Japan today as well as the competing expressions of modern architectural styles.

Temples Responding to Tradition

By its very nature, most religious practice is conservative, aiming to instill in its clergy and worshipers respect for established traditions. Perpetuation of familiar building forms and icons establishes continuity with the past. Yet the appearance of even the most conventional Buddhist temples varies over time — to accommodate new devotional practices and fluctuating numbers of parishioners, the aesthetic and ideological preferences of temple leaders and financial backers, the availability of raw materials, and the adoption of new construction technology. Adherence to traditional forms prevails most frequently at temples that possess landmark buildings made of wood, wish to attract conservative-minded worshipers, or are newly established and whose founders desire association with orthodox Buddhist institutions.

One of the earliest postwar temple structures based on a traditional form takes as its model not a traditional architectural prototype, but a Buddhist statue. It represents, in reinforced concrete, one of the faith's most familiar deities, the bodhisattva Kannon, in a popular female incarnation, the White-Robed Kannon (Byakue Kannon). The statue, with a worship hall within, rises prominently above a large hill at its namesake temple, Ōfuna Kannonji (fig. 9.1). Passengers at the nearby Ōfuna train station south of Tokyo can see the statue even at night, when it is illuminated by floodlights. It was consecrated in 1960 and the temple opened the following year, in affiliation with the adjacent Sōtō Zen temple Muga Sōzan Mokusenji (founded in 1909).[3]

The Ōfuna Kannon is the most famous and one of the earliest of many postwar Daibutsu, monumental-sized statues of Buddhist deities, usually Kannon or Amida, made out of reinforced concrete instead of the traditional wood or bronze. Many of these statues house interior multilevel worship halls and observation platforms. They serve to spread the compassion and protection of Buddhist deities to those who gaze upon the images and/or to attract tourists. Although all existing concrete Buddhist statue-buildings in Japan postdate World War II, their origin actually dates to the early twentieth century.

Takamura Kōun is credited with stimulating the boom in modern statue-buildings, although his design was but a temporary structure for amusement, conceived after he saw an empty spot of land in central Tokyo that he thought appropriate for such a venture. His inspiration probably stemmed from several sources: the popular Ueno Daibutsu in Tokyo's Ueno Park, which he saw as a child; his knowledge of large, temporary models constructed in the Edo and early Meiji periods as *misemono* (spectacle attractions) at festivals; and the Statue of Liberty, which France sent to America in 1886.[4] He built the framework out of bamboo and paper and, with the help and funding of friends, covered it with thatch and plaster and painted it to resemble bronze. His statue, in the form of



9.1. *White-Robed Kannon* (popularly known as the *Ōfuna Kannon*), at Muga Sozan Ōfuna Kannonji, Ōfuna, Kanagawa Prefecture, 1961. Reinforced concrete. Height: 25.4 m; width: 18.6 m; weight: 1,915 tons. Photograph by author.

the bodhisattva Kannon, was reputed to be over 14 meters tall, large enough to have four interior floors and statuary inside (Hashizume 1998, 25–29).

Shortly afterwards, in 1915, another plaster Buddha building was created for the San Francisco Panama-Pacific International Exposition in 1915 (as mentioned previously, it was a replica of the Nōfuku Daibutsu in Kobe). This building functioned as a showplace for Japanese products displayed at the fair.[5] It too was intended only for temporary use, but this and Takamura Kōun's structure inspired the creation soon after of permanent Buddha buildings made of concrete. Little scholarly research has been conducted on them, however, largely because they and most records about them no longer survive. Their appearance then coincided with the first widespread use of concrete as a building material in Japan. One intrepid Japanese fan has recently investigated them, however, and concluded that the earliest concrete Buddhist statue may be a 6-meter-tall statue of Amida, the Yobiko Daibutsu, erected in Karatsu City, Saga Prefecture (northern Kyushu Island) in 1922.[6] This statue had no usable interior, however.

This fan states that the earliest statue-building with interior floors may be the Jurakuen Daibutsu (Splendid Garden Great Buddha), erected in the town of Tōkai, south of Nagoya, by a commercial building developer who was said to have created it ostensibly to commemorate the wedding of the emperor, but actually to make an eye-catching tourist attraction for his city. Like the Kobe Daibutsu at Nōfukuji (see fig. 7.9), it also had an electric light in its forehead. Visitors could enter its body from the back and circumambulate the interior on a simulated pilgrimage journey, just as they did inside *sazaedō* spiral halls (see fig. 2.16) popular in the late Edo period. Construction of the Jurakuen Daibutsu began in 1924, and the statue was consecrated in 1927. Because of flaws in the early concrete manufacturing process, it deteriorated over the decades and was heavily restored in 1985, when its surface was painted to simulate bronze. It stands at a height of 18.8 meters.[7]

An originally more famous statue of this type, now largely forgotten because it no longer survives, is the Beppu Daibutsu, located in the hot-springs resort town of Beppu in northern Kyushu, near Usuki City, where a rare and famous group of twelfth-century stone Buddhist images carved into the walls of caves is located. It was created in 1928 to serve as both a tourist attraction at a large national and international exposition in Beppu as well as a monument to faith. It stood 24 meters high. A wealthy local resident, Okamoto Eizaburō, was said to have paid for the entire project at the behest of his mother, who thought him too selfish and encouraged him to devote his life to Buddhism. He followed her advice and became a Jōdo-sect priest, visiting the Jōdo-sect headquarters in Kyoto at the time he formally joined the priesthood. While there, he traveled to the nearby temple of Isshinji in Osaka and, after seeing that temple's famous statues made of cremated remains (*okotsu butsu;* see fig. 7.7), decided to create something similar in his hometown. The concrete statue he made incorporated the ashes and hair of many thousands of deceased persons. Unfortunately, because it sat out in the open, it deteriorated badly and had to be dismantled around 1965. While it stood, it was a famous site in Kyushu that even the U.S. Army encouraged its occupation forces to visit.[8] Like *sazaedō,* it also had a spiral stairway inside that led to its head. Three interior floors contained an astonishing assemblage of popular Buddhist images, including the bodhisattva Jizō; Enma, the king of hell; a mini-pilgrimage around the thirty-three Saikoku Kannon and eighty-eight Shikoku circuits, both on the second floor; and six gates on the third level with various buddhas and other deities beyond them. There was even an exterior doorway on the second level leading to an outdoor viewing deck.

The initial backers of the Ōfuna Kannon began planning their statue in 1929, shortly after completion of these other concrete Buddha statue-buildings, although theirs was not finished until 1960. While its form generally resembles the other two, the motivation of its creators was not commercial or personal.

Rather, it was more broadly altruistic, with the statue intended to serve as a symbol of eternal peace in an era of increasing militarism. To achieve that aim a small group of influential individuals of different political persuasions, all of whom believed in Buddhism as a universal and transnational faith, came together to form an association to venerate Kannon, with the Ōfuna Kannon statue as a focal point.[9] They wanted their statue to usurp the popularity of its more famous neighbor, the Great Buddha of Kamakura. When finally completed in 1960, it stood 25.4 meters high, easily dwarfing the 11.47-meter-high Kamakura Buddha.

The sculptor, Yamazaki Chōun (1867–1954), a disciple of Takamura Kōun, initially designed the statue.[10] By 1934, the armature of reinforcing steel was completed, but the project was abandoned because of the impending war. In 1954, construction resumed under the direction of a new lay association whose members again included prominent politicians, architects, and civic and business leaders. Among these were architects Yoshida Isoya (1894–1974) and Sakakura Junzō (1901–1969); journalist and later minister of state Andō Masazumi (1876–1955); and railway industrialist and art collector Gotō Keita (1882–1959). Yamamoto Toyoichi (1899–1987), a sculpture professor at the Tokyo University of Fine Arts and Music, known for his pioneering adaptations of traditional Japanese dry-lacquer sculptural techniques, oversaw the construction.

The postwar statue and its temple were also created to promote peace as well as to honor the victims of the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. This sculpture is but one of many monuments and temples dedicated to the promotion of world peace after World War II, conceived in reaction to the bombings. The idea of Japan as a pacifist nation has become a central concept of Japanese civic discourse in the postwar era, embraced by a broad spectrum of religious and lay organizations and individuals.[11]

From a distance, the Ōfuna Kannon rises majestically over the landscape; upon close inspection, viewers see that it possesses no body below its chest, which emerges simultaneously massive and ghostlike from its stone foundation. Visitors offer prayers before it and also can circumambulate its perimeter, stopping at its rear to enter its worship hall. A controversial image from its creation, some visitors see in its face the beatific countenance of Kannon, while others decry it as a monstrosity.

Far south of Ōfuna, in the town of Setoda-chō on the small Hiroshima Prefecture island of Ikuchijima in the Inland Sea, is Kōsanji, at once one of the most beguiling and derided of recently established temples. It is most famous for twenty buildings, built over a thirty-year span beginning in 1936, inspired by famous old temples and shrines throughout Japan. Its compound also contains a number of other structures including a 15-meter-tall iron and mortar replica of the famous Yumedono Kannon statue of Hōryūj and an underground passage

through the Buddhist hells and paradise. These features exemplify the types of attractions modern temples create to attract tourists, a practice that had its roots in *misemono* spectacles at Edo-period temples. In 2000 a new section opened, designed by Kuetani Kazutō, a contemporary sculptor (discussed later in this chapter).

The temple's founder and first priest was a successful industrialist, Kōsanji Kōsō Wajo (1891–1970). His father had owned a small steel-manufacturing plant, and Kōsō took it over at age sixteen, when his father died. Soon after that he witnessed a demonstration of new steel-welding techniques by French engineers and subsequently traveled to France to study the technology further. Upon his return, he founded his own company to manufacture steel pipe, much in demand for the construction of the many Western-style buildings then being erected. Because his business was the only one of its kind in Japan, his company prospered. In addition to founding the temple, he amassed a superlative collection of art now housed in a private museum adjacent to the temple.[12]

Shortly after his mother's death in 1934, Kōsō became a Jōdo Shin-sect (Honganji school) priest to pray for her salvation. A dream soon after inspired him to construct a mortuary temple to her because he felt he owed his success to her support. He also intended the temple to serve as homage to the spirit of mothers everywhere, since no other temple in all of Japan had been founded for this purpose (Setoda-chō Kyōikuiinkai 2001, 3). He chose Setoda-chō for the temple's site because it was his mother's birthplace. Kōsō devised his unusual plan for the temple because of his great love for ancient Japanese religious architecture. Although he oversaw the temple's design, from the beginning his project had wide community support.[13]

When Kōsanji was formally dedicated in 1948 upon completion of its Main (Amida) Hall, it became the western Japan regional headquarters of the Shin-sect Honganji school. The following year, even before all its main buildings were finished, it was designated one of the one hundred best scenic and religious sites of western Japan. In recent years, despite its fairly remote location, it has remained a popular tourist attraction, with some three hundred thousand visitors annually, about 20–30 percent of whom come to offer prayers as devout Buddhists.[14] The temple also has detractors who revile its architecture as ostentatious, derivative, and kitsch, in part due to misunderstanding the founder's intentions.[15] Reverend Kōsō did not simply copy famous old buildings; rather, he ordered modifications of original plans and architectural ornamentation to suit his tastes and his temple's needs. The temple looks nothing like a traditional Shin-sect complex. Its distinct architecture includes buildings based on famous structures at Buddhist temples of diverse sects and Shinto shrines. It also incorporates Buddhist imagery not usually associated with the Shin sect, namely wooden relief and stone carvings of the Rakan and statues representing esoteric



9.2. Filial Piety Gate (Kōyōmon), Kōsanji, Setoda-chō, Ikuchi Island, Hiroshima Prefecture, 1960.

forms of the bodhisattva Kannon. These features reveal the syncretic nature of religious devotion at the site, a common occurrence in modern Japanese temples and an inheritance of Edo-period attitudes.

Kōsō engaged the finest traditionally trained architects and artists to design his buildings and create their sculpted and painted ornamentation. The temple's Filial Piety Gate (Kōyōmon) (fig. 9.2), designed from a set of blueprints Kōsō obtained of the famed Yōmeimon gate at the Tōshōgū shrine in Nikkō, is the temple's most famous structure and accounts for its nickname, "the Nikkō of west-

ern Japan." Construction began in 1954 and lasted until 1964. The four niches in the front and back flanking the central entrance contain life-sized sculptures of various forms of the bodhisattva Kannon by Miki Sōsaku (1891–1945), a renowned wood sculptor who carved statues of the seven esoteric forms of the bodhisattva Kannon for eventual placement in various buildings at Kōsanji between 1938 and 1941.

Sōsaku had trained with Yamamoto Zuiun, a Tokyo-based artist who specialized in Buddhist subjects and who had studied under Takamura Kōun (Kawakita 1989, 333). Kōun instructed his pupil Zuiun to emphasize dynamic and precise carving of the figure's body, like those found on old Kamakura sculptures. Zuiun transmitted this directive to Sōsaku, whose mature sculptural style carries on his master's tradition, as seen in the statue of the mother goddess Juntei Kannon, which sits in a niche in the front of the Filial Piety Gate (plate 26). Curiously, though, Kōsanji apparently deemed the sculptures too austere and, after they were completed, had a craftsman augment them with meticulous patterns in bright colors.[16]

In contrast to the creative interpretation of past architectural styles at Kōsanji, Yakushiji, one of Japan's oldest temples, has attempted a much more literal recreation of old buildings in the recent restoration of its compound. Yakushiji heads one of the two branches of the Hossō sect, one of Japan's first Buddhist sects. Emperor Tenmu (673–686) began planning the temple in 680, although it did not open until 697. As an important religious center, in 718 it was relocated to its current site after the new capital city of Nara was founded. A pair of double-roofed, three-tier pagodas, a Golden (Main) Hall and a Lecture Hall surrounded by a cloister stood within its core compound. Its Golden Hall houses an early eighth-century National Treasure, a bronze triad of the buddha Yakushi and his attendant bodhisattvas (Mason 2005, pl. 103). The Lecture Hall also enshrines an eighth-century bronze Yakushi triad, designated an Important Cultural Property.

After the founding of the new capital city of Kyoto in 794, more recently introduced Buddhist sects gradually usurped Yakushiji's importance, resulting in its subsequent impoverishment and a diminished number of adherents. Inevitably, fires and wars ravaged the compound so that by 1528 only the original East Pagoda survived. The temple managed to erect a modest, single-story Golden Hall in 1600 and a Lecture Hall, also much reduced in scale, in 1852. The compound's physical appearance remained derelict into the 1960s, when trees sprouted within the central courtyard and woods and fields replaced lost adjacent subsidiary buildings.[17]

Perhaps as part of Japan's efforts to bolster its image in the world in preparation for a large international exposition in Osaka in 1970, the head priest during the 1960s sought to improve Yakushiji's appearance. Capitalizing on a resurgence

of interest in Buddhism, he initially funded the reconstruction through encouraging public participation in the meritorious act of sutra copying in exchange for a monetary donation.[18] This tactic proved a resounding success and encouraged many other temples to adopt a similar fund-raising plan. Consequently, sutra copying has now become extremely popular among diverse individuals and not just among the elderly, as was traditionally the case. Even fashionable young women find it induces a relaxing, refreshing state of mind, a respite from their fast-paced lives.

Unlike Kōsanji, which incorporated diverse temple building styles from different eras into its overall plan, Yakushiji sought to recreate the "original state" (*fukugen*) of its main compound at the time of its heyday.[19] This type of restoration is typically found at old temple complexes like Yakushiji, which seek to capitalize on their venerable history. The grand scale of Yakushiji's privately funded project exceeds most others being attempted, reflecting the unprecedented success of its leaders. The project continues in stages and will take many years to complete.

In some ways the practice is controversial, for it obliterates the subsequent history of the material culture of temples at which later buildings replaced lost ones, or where original buildings have been transformed over time by additions and alterations. Restoration to an "original state" is well accepted in the case of historic buildings destroyed recently, such as the circa 800 pagoda at Murōji in the mountains outside Nara, severely damaged in a typhoon in 1998 (Fowler 2005, chap. 3), or those lost earlier and simply not rebuilt. But some restorations remove later additions to buildings or, as at Yakushiji, dismantle and remove extant Edo-period structures to make way for their newly constructed replacements. Because the old Golden Hall remained in good physical condition, it was saved and reconstructed nearby at another Hossō temple, Kōfukuji, which had lost many of its structures over the centuries. But Kōfukuji is now beginning to reconstruct its main compound, so the fate of Yakushiji's relocated hall remains uncertain (Enders and Gutschow 1998, 47, pl. 52).

Another contentious issue with this type of reconstruction is the difficulty of discerning the "original state" when neither the original structure nor detailed building plans of it exist. This happened with Yakushiji, where restorers had to rely on archaeological evidence (sometimes inconclusive) and on adapting building techniques and design features from the few other extant buildings of the period (Enders and Gutschow 1998, 49).

Yakushiji first restored its Golden Hall, starting construction in 1970 and completing it in 1976 under the direction of architectural historians Ōta Hirotarō (b. 1912), Asano Kiyoshi (1905–1991), master carpenter Nishioka Tsunekazu (1908–1995), and architect Ōka Minoru (b. 1900).[20] All four had worked together since the 1930s, most notably on restoration at Hōryūji. Asano is generally credited

with advancing the field of restoration in the 1930s and 1940s by emphasizing intensive scrutiny of ancient temple buildings at the time of their restoration. This resulted in rediscovery of forgotten carpentry techniques and structural systems (Larsen 1994, 106–107). Master carpenter Nishioka became an expert at these ancient working methods, but he had to modify them slightly to accommodate the physical properties of the type of wood he was forced to use, Taiwanese cypress (used previously in the reconstruction of Tōfukuji's Main Hall in 1934; see fig. 7.3), because of the scarcity of native timber. Also, because the building was intended as a repository for statues designated National Treasures, laws for the preservation of cultural properties require that these be housed in a fireproof structure, so the new Golden Hall incorporated a hidden, reinforced concrete core and an emergency sprinkler system. After finishing the Golden Hall, the team recreated the lost West Pagoda between 1977 and 1981, based on close study of its mate.[21]

The most recently completed building at Yakushiji is its Great Lecture Hall (Dai Kōdō) (plate 27). Master carpenter Uehara Masanori, a disciple of Nishioka, headed the construction team. The new building, consecrated in 2003, is much larger than the Golden Hall, as it was originally. Because it also houses protected cultural properties, it too possesses a fireproof core. The reconstructed Great Lecture Hall plan was well received publicly, attracting huge donations of devotional objects and art from both amateur devotees and celebrated artists (further discussed in chap. 10).[22] The building's interior wall paintings, depicting the Amida Buddha's Pure Land paradise, were also commissioned for the new building by contemporary artists who adapted their design from older works. Plate 27 shows the building on 22 May 2006, during a ground-breaking ceremony for the erection of roofed corridors on either side of the structure (construction scaffolding is hidden from view within temporary enclosures at the sides of the building). These, slated for completion in 2008, will eventually connect with the cloisters, completed earlier, that surround the front and sides of the temple's main compound.

Around the same time that Yakushiji's abbot was contemplating plans to revive his temple in the 1960s, Naritasan was also embarking on a grand restoration project. But unlike Yakushiji, which over time had become a small, secluded temple, widespread popular patronage of Naritasan Shinjōji has continued in an unbroken progression from the Edo period to the present. By the 1990s it had evolved into a sprawling, affluent religious complex, one of Japan's most visited religious sites during the New Year's season and the most popular temple for visitors offering prayers for traffic safety (Reader and Tanabe 1998, 42). Recently, temple officials have also promoted Naritasan Shinjōji as a locus for prayers for the more universal goal of world peace. Like Yakushiji, expansion is ongoing. As of this writing in July 2006, a new, massive gate complex is being constructed in



9.3. Yoshida Isoya (1894–1974). Main Hall (Hondō), Naritasan Shinshōji, Narita, Chiba Prefecture, 1968. Photograph by author.

front of the existing gate from 1830 and will open to coincide with the temple's 1,070th anniversary in 2008.

The two most important building projects completed in recent decades at Naritasan Shinjōji are the temple's new Main Hall and its Great Pagoda of Peace. Like Kōsanji and Yakushiji, these new buildings resemble ancient forms, but here they more overtly fuse tradition with modernity. Also unlike Yakushiji, which resolved to recreate the image of the temple at its inception, Naritasan Shinjōji both embraces its past and looks to the future — not only through its decidedly modern-looking new buildings, but also by reuse of its earlier, still extant Edo-period Main Halls elsewhere in its precincts.

Architect Yoshida Isoya (a sponsor of the Ōfuna Kannon), most famous for his modern interpretations of traditional Japanese-style secular buildings, designed the new Main Hall, which opened in 1968 (fig. 9.3).[23] This building marked a new direction in his work, away from his forte in secular architecture to the design of Buddhist halls. For many years previously, his secular buildings had attracted both supporters and detractors. Modernist architects thought his designs too deferential to tradition, and both they and proponents of traditional architecture disliked what they considered "sham construction," which used modern structural systems with traditional Japanese-style elements only as textures and finishes. But as concrete construction gained a foothold in the Japanese con-

struction industry, by the late 1960s, when Yoshida designed the Naritasan Main Hall, his approach to integrating tradition with modernity had become more highly regarded (Japan Architect 1969, 111–112).

Yoshida recognized that up to the 1960s, new Buddhist architecture had taken two directions. Buildings either resembled meeting halls or copied, as authentically as possible, classic temple forms, sometimes replicating old bracketing systems in concrete and steel. His goal at Naritasan Shinjōji was to modernize traditional-style temple architecture but retain the spirit of tradition. He achieved this by eliminating familiar elements such as elaborate bracketing, double rafters, and posts (Yoshida 1969, 109). As with his secular buildings, the Main Hall for Naritasan Shinjōji, far larger than any past worship halls, nevertheless successfully retains continuity with the past in its proportions and overall shape, while simultaneously creating a modern feel in the hushed, light-filled, and spacious interior. Yoshida attempted a similar effect in another temple project for Chūguji nunnery in Nara, also completed in 1968 (Japan Architect 1969, 97–102).

The second enormous modern structure at Naritasan Shinjōji is its *tahōtō*-style Great Pagoda of Peace (Daitō), completed in 1984 (fig. 9.4). It was designed by the Kyoto Traditional Architecture Techniques Association (Kyōto Dentō Kenchiku Gijutsu Kyōkai), a firm specializing in modern, traditional-style buildings. The building rises five stories to a height of 58 meters. Its basement serves as a museum for the display of votive tablets by famous and anonymous artists from the Edo period to the present and other objects donated by worshipers. Underground is a time capsule filled with wishes for world peace donated by various world leaders. The first floor is the building's public worship hall, featuring enormous statues of the five Myōō. These images, as well as the temple's brightly colored Buddhist wall paintings, were created by Matsuhisa Sōrin (discussed in chap. 10), of the Matsuhisa *bussho,* the foremost Buddhist image-making atelier in Japan. The two floors above contain one of two known copies of the complete Tibetan *tripitaka* donated by the fourteenth Dalai Lama, offerings of tiny statues and sutras made by devotees, and plaques recognizing the building's donors. The top-floor Diamond Hall (Kongōden) enshrines the Five Wisdom Buddhas (Gochi Nyorai) sacred to Shingon. Mandala paintings grace the wall and stained glass on the ceiling infuses the chamber with colored light, evoking the resplendence of paradise.[24]

The imposing scale and interior spaces of this pagoda, filled with dazzling images, typify the approach temples take when they seek to update traditional Buddhist architecture. Since the 1990s, though, many temples and the younger generation of architects who design their buildings have abandoned tradition and instead look to the tenets of contemporary architecture to forge new types of sacred spaces for the practice of Buddhism.

Temple Halls in Modern Forms

Japanese architects born immediately before or shortly after World War II and who began designing buildings in the 1960s and 1970s have been heralded worldwide for their groundbreaking designs. Renowned modernist architect Maki Fumihiko (b. 1928) has described this group as "Stray Berserkers," akin to unruly, masterless samurai (*rōnin*). Maki is said to have conceived the term to distinguish himself and his contemporaries, born before the war into privileged backgrounds, from the next generation of practitioners, whose more diverse upbringings encouraged them to develop iconoclastic attitudes towards design (Knabe and Noennig 1999, 127–128). Buddhist temple halls by these younger postwar architects reflect their interest in inventing new building types for modern-day worshipers.

Takaguchi Yoshiyuki (b. 1940 in Kyoto) approaches Buddhist architectural design from the unique perspective of an ordained Buddhist cleric. From 1972 to 2005 he served as head priest at the Jōdo-sect temple of Isshinji in Osaka, famous for its *okotsu butsu* statues (see fig. 7.7). The temple is now headed by his son. Between 1977 and 2003 he designed a series of distinctive modern structures for his temple and commissioned contemporary artists, not professional Buddhist painters and sculptors, to design imagery for them. Reverend Takaguchi continues to reside at Isshinji and oversees its social-service programs and building addition plans. His involvement with the temple began in the 1960s, when he married the daughter of the head priest and became his disciple. Concurrently, he studied architecture at Kyoto University, then moved to Canada to work briefly for the celebrated Israeli-born architect Moshe Safdie (b. 1938) before returning to Japan to teach and practice architecture. When his father-in-law died suddenly, the Jōdo-sect hierarchy chose him as successor. He has nevertheless continued to practice architecture, designing both religious buildings and residential housing.[25]

All the temple's buildings were destroyed during World War II. At first, money for reconstruction came from donors and bank loans, which the temple repaid by 1980. As donations continued during the economic boom of the 1980s, Isshinji deposited these funds in high-interest bank accounts. After the economic downturn in the early 1990s, the temple used its cash to purchase nearby land inexpensively and expand. It first rebuilt the most important structure, the hall for housing the *okotsu butsu* (Nōkotsudō), in 1957 in the form of a traditional Buddhist memorial hall. The Main Hall was rebuilt next, in 1966, again following a traditional design. Takaguchi and his firm, Zōka Associates (Zōka Kenchiku Kenkyūsho), have designed all subsequent buildings in the compound, seeking to serve the needs of ever increasing numbers of visitors, which, by the late 1990s, sometimes reached twenty thousand persons in a single day.



9.4. Kyoto Traditional Architecture Techniques Association (Kyōto Dentō Kenchiku Gijutsu Kyōkai). Great Pagoda of Peace (Daitō), Naritasan Shinshōji, 1984. Photograph by author.

Reverend Takaguchi situated the buildings in the temple compound to accommodate the large numbers of visitors who come to offer prayers to the *okotsu butsu* statues. Therefore, he placed greater emphasis on the exterior courtyard spaces than the buildings themselves and accentuated the connecting spaces between the structures. Temple courtyards as the focal point of worship first became significant during the Edo period. Because so many people pay respects and leave offerings at the *okotsu butsu,* Takaguchi has plans to increase the size of the offering area in front of the *okotsu butsu* hall and has recently enlarged the courtyard immediately in front of it.

The first building Takaguchi completed in 1977 was the large Guest Center (Nissōden) for welcoming visitors and housing the temple's offices. It is a bright and airy reinforced-concrete structure with a tile roof that appears to float majestically above. In 1992, a spire-topped octagonal structure of reinforced concrete and glass blocks opened as a reception building (Nenbutsudō) for devotees wishing to donate cremated remains. Visitors encounter this building just after



9.5. Takaguchi Yoshiyuki (b. 1940) and Zōka Kenchiku Kenkyūsho. Main Gate at Isshinji, Osaka, 1997. Photograph courtesy of Takaguchi Yoshiyuki.

passing through the Main Gate (fig. 9.5). The new Main Gate, composed not of wood but of steel, reinforced concrete, glass blocks, and glass, followed in 1997. Takaguchi based his design for it on ancient Indian descriptions of the cosmos in which trees (the gate's metal framework) hang down from heaven to form a net adorned with bells that marks the entrance to Amida Buddha's Pure Land. He incorporated into the gate a waiting room and underground section with modern toilet facilities.

Takaguchi engaged prominent artists for this project. Akino Fuku (1908–2001), a highly respected woman Nihonga painter, designed relief sculpture of celestial maidens for either side of the gate's entryway.[26] The imposing gate guardians, usually made of wood (see fig. 7.6), are here rendered in bronze by Kanbe Mineo (b. 1944), a well-known sculptor who specializes in Western-style figural sculpture. Kanbe's forms comply with Takaguchi's directive for the statues to resemble real people so visitors can relate to them easily. Takaguchi considered every detail, including their clothing, age, and poses, and decided that as universal symbols of strength the figures should be virtually naked, with only a loincloth covering their genitals, and that they should represent the strength of men at different ages. The physique of the guardian on the right in figure 9.5

distinguishes him as the younger of the two. Takaguchi also wanted them to stand as if about to engage a foe and to wield invisible blades, like light sabers wielded by the characters in *Star Wars* movies, instead of hoisting the traditional diamond-headed blades, which viewers would think old-fashioned. Kanbe completed the statues in 1997 after two years of work. Takaguchi admits that at first public reception of this unusual gate was mixed, but people seem to be growing accustomed to it. Takaguchi's novel inclusion of modern, Western-style sculpture within a formal temple setting derives from his belief that such images educate visitors about Western influence in early Indian Buddhist art, connected to Japan via the Silk Route.

In his temple's newest building, the Three Thousand Buddha Hall (Sanzen Butsudō), completed in 2002, Takaguchi again included modern elements in both the design of the building's form and its decoration. The name for the building comes from niches filled with statues of buddhas that circle the interior perimeter of the central worship hall. At present, many of the niches contain only lotus-petal thrones, awaiting donors for the images. This unconventional structure, used for traditional Buddhist services, meetings, and weddings, also includes, on its basement level, a state-of-the-art public theater space for the staging of experimental productions by a neighborhood theater troupe.

The heart of the building, though, remains its worship hall, which Takaguchi designed to resemble a Christian church whose space visitors could enter without removing their shoes (plate 28). It has pews instead of floor-level cushions for worshipers because Takaguchi wanted to make the sanctuary comfortable for those who could not or who felt uncomfortable sitting on the floor. It does feature traditional Buddhist imagery, though in an unusual configuration and modernized form. He commissioned a Kyoto *busshi* to carve a gold-leaf-covered relief sculpture of the Ten Great Disciples of the Buddha Shaka (Shaka Jūdai Deshi), a traditional theme done in a modern style, for the middle of the altar directly below a huge mural, the focal point of the interior decoration, on the back wall. Shaka in his most ancient Indian aniconic form is represented in this relief as the leaves of the bodhi tree under which he sat when meditating prior to his enlightenment. In front of the relief is a lotus throne with a stele upon it, representing and pointing up to the buddha Amida, the central figure in the mural above. This mural, a traditional subject (Yamagoshi Amida), features Amida and his attendant bodhisattvas, Kannon and Seishi, appearing above the mountains to welcome dying believers. Here, these deities appear not over the low, rounded hills of Japan as would be the norm (see plate 16, by Reizei Tamechika), but towering over the Himalayan peaks. The painter Takaguchi engaged to create this, the largest tempera-painted mural in the world, is Ri Shaogan (Ch. Li Xiaogan; b. 1958 in Beijing), a Western-style painting professor at the Kyoto University of Art and Design.

A number of other architects of Takaguchi's generation have also occasionally designed nonconformist buildings for Buddhist temples.[27] One of the most articulate, prolific, and visionary of these is the Kyoto-based Takamatsu Shin (b. 1948). Takamatsu also studied architecture at Kyoto University, where he later became professor. In the 1980s he gained fame for a series of sleek, dramatic buildings with the character of colossal, sometimes menacing machinery, epitomized by the iconic 1987 Kirin Plaza tower in downtown Osaka. He has described himself as "an old style architect who is always dreaming of architecture as a monument or as something with a symbolic presence. A piece of architecture to me stops simply being a building and becomes a monument when it converses with its surroundings and takes on the guise of a living thing, breathing and functioning as a vital part of a city."[28]

Two totally dissimilar temple structures, both completed in 1998, which Takamatsu designed for two different Buddhist organizations, embody his talent for taking his design cues from the buildings' surroundings, in one case a traditional temple compound and in the other a sacred mountain. The former is a vast underground structure at Higashi Honganji in Kyoto, the Shin-sect Original Temple Visitor Learning Hall (Shinshū Honbyō Shichōkaku Hōru).[29] The new building commemorates the 500th anniversary of the death of Rennyō (1415–1499), the influential eighth abbot of Honganji who revitalized and expanded the sect. Entrance to the building is to the right of the temple's 1895 Main Hall (see fig. 7.1), through a visitors' reception building dating to 1934. Takamatsu carefully conceived his design to respect the ambiance of the temple compound, dominated by old, wood-frame structures.[30] At ground level, all that appears is the central skylight of the new building's roof: a flat, circular, glass and concrete form with a concave side, in the middle of a raked gravel courtyard (fig. 9.6). Inside, Takamatsu's building is a three-story wholly modern, light-filled structure that houses a gallery, a room in which sacred Buddhist icons are enshrined in an altar, and, directly below the courtyard skylight, a spacious central meeting hall with tiered, plush auditorium seating and state-of-the-art sound and audio systems.

Takamatsu took a diametrically opposite approach from the underground building at Higashi Honganji in his Star Peak (Seirei) Hall, which soars above the nondescript tile-roofed wood buildings of its adjacent Myōkendō temple at Mount Myōken (Myōkenzan) (fig. 9.7). The temple sits at the summit of this small, remote mountain in northern Osaka Prefecture near the town of Nōse.[31] Mount Myōken has long been considered a place sacred to Shinto. Since the late sixteenth century it was thought to be the earthly abode of the Pole Star bodhisattva Myōken as well, considered a Buddhist manifestation of the Shinto deity of the mountain. Myōken is venerated most intently by the Nichiren sect, which then established a temple there. This ultra-nationalistic sect admired



9.6. Takamatsu Shin (b. 1948). View of the glass roof of the Shin Sect Original Temple Visitor Learning Hall (Shinshū Honbyō Shichōkaku Hōru) at Higashi Honganji, Kyoto, 1998. Photograph by author.

Myōken because of his alleged ability to protect the nation from disasters. He is also thought to posses powers to increase longevity and cure eye diseases (Daitō Shuppansha 1991, 231). Because he confers these more practical benefits, the site became a local pilgrimage destination. Today, although the mountain temple remains isolated (accessible by cable car and ropeway), it attracts large numbers of devout worshipers, also admirers of its surrounding scenery.

Takamatsu used steel and wood for the "double-skin" support structure, whose complex shape he modeled on that of a star, after the temple's namesake bodhisattva. But the actual design he borrowed from the appearance of an arrow's nock (the piece of metal or plastic at an arrow's end that supports the bowstring) (Aisu Rabo 1998, 7). The temple's abbot, however, conceived the towering form of the structure based on a passage from chapter 16 of the Nichiren sect's most revered text, the Lotus Sutra, that describes a Treasure Pagoda in which the buddhas Shaka and Tahō (the Buddha of Many Treasures; Skt. Prabhutaratna) sat while Shaka preached to devotees. During his sermon, the pagoda rose to heaven and lifted with it all in attendance.

Takamatsu covered the building with a wooden membrane of cedar logs harvested from the sacred mountain itself, respecting the long-standing esteem for wood in Japanese culture and the belief that "wood should be used in the place where it is cut."[32] The building serves as a venue for both religious and cultural activities. An information center, gallery, and resting areas fill the lowest of three floors. The middle level, with vast glass walls, is a natural observation deck also used as a performance stage. The uppermost level houses a sacred space, a representation of the Buddhist paradise, illuminated by light entering via tall, clear windows and a transparent glass floor, a feature intended to suggest the pathway



9.7. Takamatsu Shin (b. 1948). Star Peak (Seirei) Hall at Mount Myōken (Myōkenzan), Hyogo Prefecture, 1998. Photograph by author.

to this realm. Floating above are large, brightly colored statues of Jōgyō (Skt. Viśistacāritra) bodhisattvas, representative of the myriad bodhisattvas whom, as described in the Lotus Sutra, the Buddha directed to spread his teachings on earth after his death. They were created by professional secular artists rather than Buddhist sculptors. Their presence reinforces the perception of this space as a liminal boundary between the earth below and heaven above.

Another, slightly younger architect whose Buddhist buildings project a distinct vision of modern Buddhist spirituality is Yamaguchi Takashi (b. 1953). He, too, studied architecture at Kyoto University. Afterwards, he worked in the architecture office of Andō Tadao (b. 1941), the Pritzker Prize–winning master of minimalism whose values Yamaguchi obviously shares. Yamaguchi's debut project, a gleaming white stone-and-glass underground guesthouse known as Glass Temple, for the seventeenth-century Kyoto Zen temple of Rengeikōji, opened in 1998.[33] His White Temple of 2000, a hall for offering prayers to deceased ancestors (*ihaidō*) for the secluded and very private temple of Zuisenji in Sonobe-chō, Kyoto Prefecture, further explores his awe-inspiring interpretation of the sacred (plate 29).[34]



Plate 18. Tenjin Hoshin'nō (1664–1690). *Thousand-Armed Kannon* (*Senju Kanzeon Bosatsu*), 1689. Hanging scroll; ink, colors, gold pigment, and gold leaf on silk, 96 × 43 cm. Rinnōji, Nikko.



Plate 19. *(Above)* Empress Tōfukumon'in (1607–1678). *Fish Basket [Merōfu] Kannon Bodhisattva.* Fabric-wrapped paper collage (*oshie*) installed in a gilt-wood lacquer shrine. Image height: 49.5 cm; exterior shrine height: 20.1 cm. Eigenji, Shiga Prefecture. Photograph courtesy of the Rittō City History Museum, Shiga Prefecture.



Plate 20. *(Right)* Katō Nobukiyo (1734–1810). *Ten Rakan Examining a Painting of White-Robed Kannon,* one scroll from a set of fifty paintings portraying the Five Hundred Rakan, the buddha Shaka, and his attendant bodhisattvas Fugen and Monju, set completed between 1788 and 1792. Hanging scroll; ink, color, and gold on paper, 130.3 × 57.7 cm. Mary and Jackson Burke Foundation. Photograph: Carl Nardiello.



Plate 21. Itō Jakuchū (1716–1800). *Fish in a Lotus Pond,* from the series *Colorful Realm of Living Beings* (*Dōshoku saie*), set completed between ca. 1757 and 1770. One of a set of thirty hanging scrolls; ink on paper, 142.3 × 79.6 cm. Sannomaru, Shozōkan Museum, Imperial Household Agency.



Plate 22. Kawanabe Kyōsai (1831–1889). *A Paradise-Bound Steam Train,* page from the album *A Journey Around Hell and Paradise,* 1872. Album leaf; ink, color, and gold on paper, 25.6 × 21 cm. Seikadō Bunkō Art Museum.



Plate 23. Takeuchi Hisakazu (alt. Kyūichi, 1857–1916). *Gigeiten,* exhibited at the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago, 1893. Wood with polychrome. Height: 215 cm. The University Art Museum, Tokyo National University of Fine Arts and Music.



Plate 24. *(Above)* Dōmoto Inshō (1891–1975). *Yuima with a Group of Bodhisattvas and the Ten Great Disciples of the Buddha,* 1923. Framed triptych; pigments on silk, central panel: 225 × 166 cm; each lateral panel: 225 × 61 cm. Kyoto Prefectural Dōmoto Inshō Museum of Fine Arts.

Plate 25. *(Right)* Murakami Kagaku (1888–1939). *Seated Bodhisattva,* 1924. Hanging scroll; ink and colors on silk, 58.2 × 50.6 cm. Hiroshima Prefectural Art Museum.





Plate 26. *(Left)* Miki Sōsaku (1891–1945). *Juntei Kannon Bodhisattva,* Filial Piety Gate (Kōyōmon) at Kōsanji, Setoda-chō, Ikuchi Island, Hiroshima Prefecture, 1938–1941. Wood with gilt, polychrome, and inset crystal eyes. Height of statue including mandorla and base: 1505 cm.; height of statue alone: 640 cm.

Plate 27. *(Below)* Great Lecture Hall (Dai Kōdō), Yakushiji, Nara, 2003. Photograph by author.





Plate 28. Building by Takaguchi Yoshiyuki (b. 1940) and Zōka Kenchiku Kenkyūsho; painting by Ri Shaogan (Ch. Li Xiaogan) (b. 1958). Interior view of the Three Thousand Buddha Hall (Sanzen Butsudō) with wall painting, *Yamagoshi Amida Rising over the Himalayan Mountains,* Isshinji, Osaka, 2002. Painting, tempera paint and gold on plaster, 10 × 25 m. Photograph courtesy of Takaguchi Yoshiyuki.



Plate 29. Yamaguchi Takashi (b. 1953). White Temple (Ihaidō) at Zuisenji, Sonobe-cho, Kyoto Prefecture, 2000. Photograph courtesy of Yamaguchi Takashi.



Plate 30. Kuetani Kazutō (b. 1942). *The Heights of Eternal Hope for the Future* (*Miraishin no Oka*) at Kōsanji, Setoda-chō, Ikuchi Island, Hiroshima Prefecture, ongoing from 2000. Large hillside covered with carved white marble imported from Carrara, Italy. Photograph courtesy of Kōsanji.



Plate 31. *(Above)* Eri Kōkei (b. 1943) and Eri Sayoko (b. 1945). *The Five Esoteric Ones* (*Gohimitsu*), installed at Fugen'in, Mount Kōya, 1999–2004. Wood with polychrome, cut-gold leaf (*kirikane*), and crystal eyes. Height: 101 cm. Photograph courtesy of Eri Kokei.

Plate 32. *(Right)* Mukōyoshi Yuboku (b. 1961) and Nakamura Keiboku. *Thousand-Arms Thousand-Eyes Kannon* (*Senju Sengen Kannon*), 2004. Wood with polychrome, cut-gold leaf (*kirikane*), and crystal eyes. Height: 100 cm. Private collection, Osaka. Photo courtesy of Mukoyoshi Yuboku.





Plate 33. Sawada Seikō (1894–1988). *Renge* (Lotus), 1983. Wood with polychrome and gold pigment. Height: 215 cm. Atami Municipal Sawada Seikō Memorial Museum.

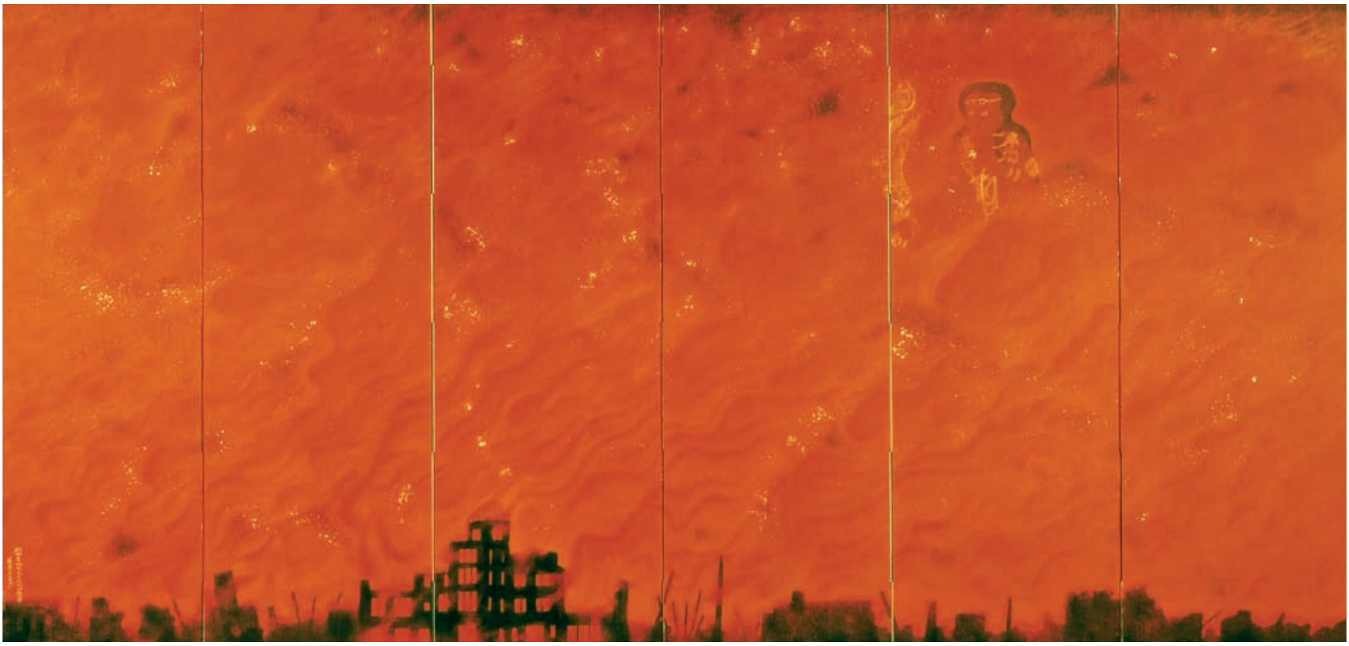


Plate 34. Hirayama Ikuo (b. 1930). *Hiroshima Reborn* (*Hiroshima shōhenzu*), 1979. Six-panel screen; ink and colors on paper, 171 × 364 cm. Hiroshima Prefectural Art Museum. Photograph courtesy of Hirayama Ikuo.

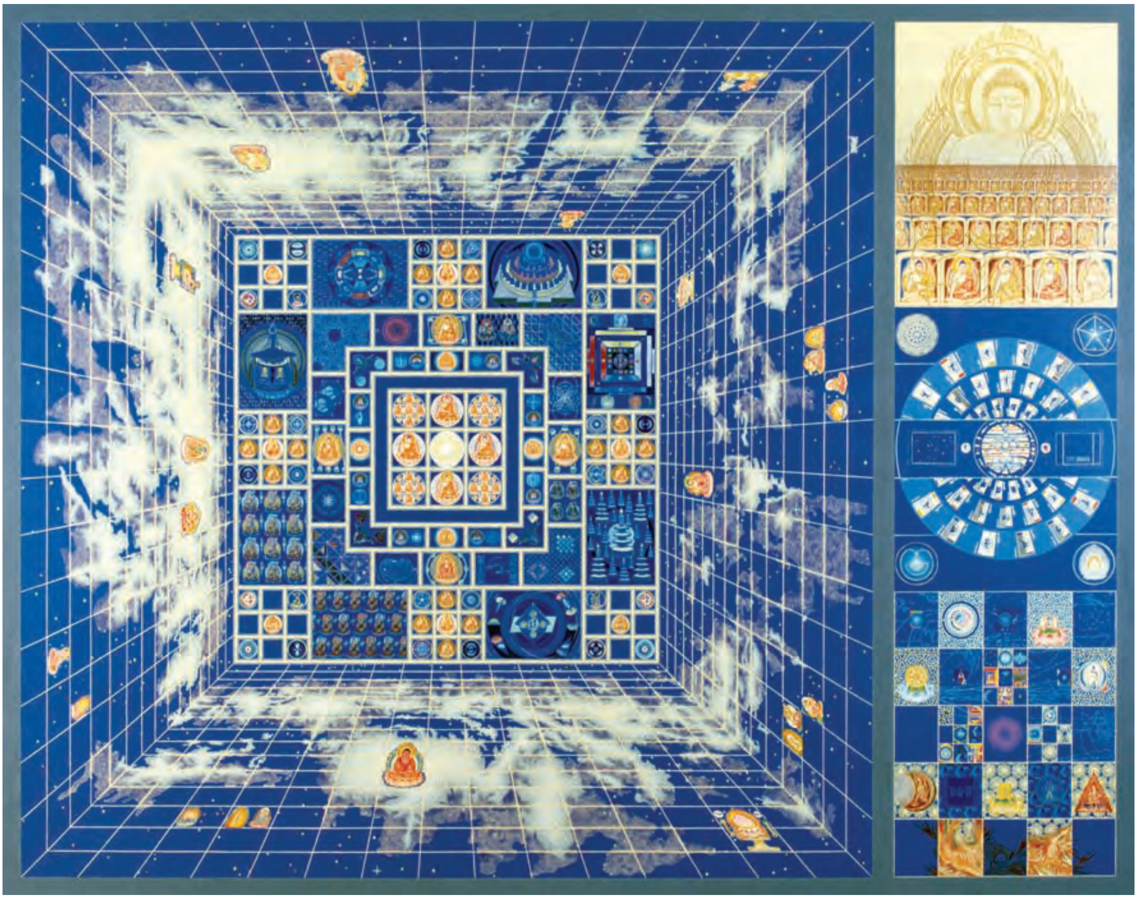


Plate 35. Maeda Jōsaku (b. 1926). *Meditation on the Silver River* (*Ginka meisō*), from the series *Personal Impressions of Mandalas* (*Kansō mandara shirizu*), 1980–1982. Acrylic paint on canvas, 181.8 × 227.3 cm. Toyama Prefectural Museum of Art.





Plate 36. *(Facing page)* Kondō Kōmei (b. 1924). *Illusionary Light* (*Genkō—gokan no fuji*), 1987. Six-panel folding screen, color on paper, 164.9 × 300.1 cm. Hiratsuka City Museum of Art.

Plate 37. *(Below)* Mori Mariko (b. 1967). *Pure Land,* from the multimedia installation *Nirvana,* 1996–1998. Glass with photo interlays in five panels, overall dimensions: 304.8 × 609.6 × 2.16 cm.; width of each panel: 122 cm. Photograph courtesy of Deitch Projects, New York.





Plate 38. Dōmoto Inshō (1891–1975). *Wind God* (*Fujin*), 1960. Six-panel screen; color on silk, 166 × 372 cm. Kyoto Prefectural Dōmoto Inshō Museum of Fine Arts.



Plate 39. Ōkura Jirō (b. 1942). *Hamadryad Cylinders,* 2004. Camphor wood, pigments, animal glue, screw nails. Height of each element: approx. 61 cm., diameter: 42 cm. Photograph courtesy of Ōkura Jirō.

Zuisenji is affiliated with no particular Buddhist sect, a situation increasingly common in contemporary Japan, though its main images are traditional Buddhist icons. Like Yamaguchi's Glass Temple, this building is also a simple rectangle situated within a stark gravel courtyard near older traditional wood-framed, tile-roofed Buddhist halls. The interior is open but has clearly defined spaces for mourners, mortuary tablets, and a single devotional icon, a standing image of the bodhisattva Kannon. Its purpose is to honor the memory of maternal ancestors and for those with no living relatives (*muen botoke*). As at Kōsanji, dedicating a sanctuary to women is a rare instance of this practice in male-dominated Japan, where reverence for the male family line remains dominant. Yamaguchi took the building's function as the starting point for his design, about which he wrote,

> I set out to create a space that would envelop visitors in a womb-like atmosphere. In such a space, people might be reminded of their maternal blood relations and feel moved to thankfulness for the gift of life. In the interior, therefore, I tried to orchestrate a floating sensation, as of the fetus in the fluid of the womb. Into this atmosphere, then, I introduced the movement of time. The light inside the building grows lighter or darker along with the changing brightness of the sky, so that the space seems to breathe. With each change in the intensity of the light, in other words, the space seems to swell or shrink. This swelling and shrinking, which is like the motion inside the womb, envelops people in a soft way. . . . In such a place, we feel inspired to look beyond mundane concerns toward the world of spirit. It is my hope that this space will help people enter a mood of dialogue with the souls of their ancestors, while reminding them of the preciousness of life.[35]

The pure, bright, silent space that Yamaguchi designed is in accord with the concerns of other postwar Buddhist temple designers, who similarly infuse their buildings with light rather than darkness, the latter a prevailing feature of premodern worship halls. This light-filled space brings a new conception of religiosity to institutional Buddhist structures that the following section explores from another perspective — the infusion of Buddhist sentiments at places not designed as formal places of worship.

Evocations of Buddhism at Nondenominational Sites

In premodern Japan, Buddhist worship typically occurred at prescribed locations, defined by the presence of formal icons, altars, or buildings. In the postwar era, the faith's ideals have begun to inspire creation of quasi-religious, nondenominational sites of contemplation such as those described below, which compel visitors, even those who do not practice the faith, to feel Buddhism's spiritual presence.

The Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum and Park both memorializes those who perished on 6 August 1945 and expresses prayers for world peace. One of the great masters of modernist architecture in Japan, Tange Kenzō (1913–2005), designed the complex after winning an open competition as a young, unknown architect. The project launched his career. Tange boldly fused traditional Japanese architectural aesthetics with the positivist spirit embodied in modern technology and international modernist architectural principles.

Although designed as a nondenominational memorial to attract visitors year round, huge crowds congregate during the annual August Buddhist Festival of the Dead (Ōbon), which nearly coincides with the date of the bombing. The rites performed then derive from traditional Japanese Buddhist memorial services. But unlike ordinary Buddhist memorial services, which are private affairs for family and friends, the circumstances of mass death required the creation of a large site for collective group participation (Foard 1994, 25). At first, Buddhist-style funerary rites took place at the park's ossuary, which interred cremated remains of bombing victims. Originally a votive pillar for the deceased (*kuyōtō*), the site is now dominated by a large hill known as the "Atomic Bomb Mound." In 1952, coinciding with the end of the American occupation, a new Tange-designed site for memorial rites, a large cenotaph (fig. 9.8), has become the focus of memorials. The present structure, placed there in 1985, is a replacement for the original, whose condition had deteriorated. It sits along the central axis of the park between the Peace Memorial Museum building and the Atomic Bomb (Genbaku) Dome, the skeletal framework of the Western-style Hiroshima Prefectural Industrial Promotion Hall close to the epicenter, the only structure in the vicinity that the blast did not completely flatten.

This cenotaph, nondenominational like the park in which it resides, nevertheless has its roots in altars at Buddhist temples. Its actual form is based on an ancient, pre-Buddhist structure, a house (like those seen in models known as *haniwa*) that adorned the summits of grave mounds in pre-Buddhist Japan (fourth through sixth centuries). It contains a registry of the names of all known bombing victims (those who died immediately and those who died later). As of 6 August 2005, the sixtieth anniversary of the bombing, it contained 242,437 names, but the number continues to increase. Though an individual's visit might be inspired by personal connection to a victim, the cenotaph includes no Buddhist icon as the focus of prayers. Instead, visitors usually silently bow their heads and place flowers at the altar in front of the cenotaph, looking through it to the eternal flame of peace and, beyond that, to the shell of the Genbaku Dome. Groups of schoolchildren also regularly congregate in front of it during group excursions, often to sing hymns. At the cenotaph, visitors are confronted with a universal plea for peace engraved on a plaque on the memorial's side that neatly unites the monument's private function with its other, more modern and



9.8. Tange Kenzō (1913–2005). Cenotaph in the plaza of the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Park. Originally installed in 1952. Present structure is a 1985 replacement. Photograph by author.

civic role as a locus of prayers for world peace. Emblematic of this latter function, each year on 6 August, peace protesters gather at the plaza that surrounds the cenotaph, facing away from it and the Genbaku Dome and towards the Peace Memorial Museum. These protestors also offer prayers here after large-scale nuclear tests worldwide (Foard 1994, 37).

Modern art museums function as another type of nondenominational site of spiritual contemplation. In art museums, religious images generally derive meaning from their intrinsic aesthetic beauty rather than their function. In most Japanese art museums, exhibitions do not re-create the appearance of the sacred spaces that once held the objects displayed. This holds true even for displays in temple treasure halls, beginning with the first modern structure of this type that opened at the Shingon-sect headquarters at Mount Kōya in 1921 (Guth 1993, 189–190). Although these new temple museums are not formal worship halls, sometimes devout worshipers treat them as such by leaving offerings of flowers and coins before images displayed in them. Still, the icons were (and still are) lined up in rows on platforms or behind glass and not on altars, arranged thematically and/or chronologically, with didactic labels that temple worship halls would not include.

In contrast, the early art museums outside Japan that exhibited Buddhist objects, such as the Musee Guimet in Paris, desired to re-create the original religious context. Sometimes museums, as in the installation in 1928 of a small

temple worship hall in the Philadelphia Art Museum, installed reconstructed buildings, creating elaborate "period rooms." Beginning in the early postwar period, museum displays of these religious objects changed dramatically. Many began to place greater emphasis on the object and deemphasized its context. This emerged from the influence of modernist aesthetics and the requirements of displaying contemporary art in appropriate gallery spaces that would vanish, so "the work is isolated from everything that would detract from its own evaluation of itself."[36] Although this type of exhibition environment may be appropriate for modern art intended from the outset for gallery displays, it has proved problematic for displaying religious imagery. Consequently, in recent decades many museums have once again begun to design contextual installations by installing temple altars in galleries, often commissioning traditionally trained temple carpenters to construct them.[37]

Most of the new displays help visitors visualize the way people of the past worshiped but fail to explain satisfactorily the relevance of these objects to modern life or to instill in viewers a sense of spiritual connection to the religion for which the objects were created. The Gallery of Hōryūji Treasures (Hōryūji Homotsukan) at the Tokyo National Museum, completed in 2000 and designed by Taniguchi Yoshio (b. 1937), is, I believe, a rare exception to this rule.[38] Taniguchi wrote that "out of a desire to respect both the sublime works to be displayed and the natural setting, I made it my goal in designing the new Gallery of Horyuji Treasures to create on the site an environment of a kind that has become all too rare in present-day Tokyo, that is, an environment characterized by tranquility, order, and dignity . . . creating a space that establishes a special relationship between visitors and the exhibited works" (2001, 9).

When visitors enter the first floor's hushed and darkened main gallery, it is as if they have entered the sacred sanctuary of an ancient temple hall as worshipers (fig. 9.9). A darkened ceiling, carefully placed fiber-optic lighting, and a grid arrangement of numerous gilt bronze statues of the bodhisattva Kannon encased in transparent cubes all combine to sanctify the space. The dim lighting suggests the flickering flames of candles, once the only illumination for the icons. Their arrangement and lighting produce a perception of walking through a mandala, a sacred diagram of the universe, or wandering about infinite miniature Buddha worlds.

Such nondenominational sacred places even show up occasionally at temples. The most remarkable of these, *The Heights of Eternal Hope for the Future (Miraishin no Oka)* (plate 30) is an ongoing project at Kōsanji (see fig. 9.2 and plate 26). It rises like an otherworldly presence atop a large hill behind the main compound, a montage of giant, abstract sculptural forms. Since its opening in 2000, the site has functioned as an unusual venue for group activities, outdoor classical musical concerts, and theatrical performances, as well as serving as a



9.9. Taniguchi Yoshio (b. 1937). Interior view of the first-floor gallery of the Gallery of Hōryūji Treasures, Tokyo National Museum, 2000. Photograph: Kitajima Toshiharu, courtesy of Taniguchi and Associates.

popular spot for private contemplation of its sculptural installations and viewing the scenic coastline and small islands along the Inland Sea. Japanese sculptor Kuetani Kazutō (b. 1942) conceived this massive environmental sculpture at the request of the temple's second abbot, son of the founder, who had seen and admired Kuetani's work. Kuetani was actually born near Kōsanji but has traveled far from his homeland to achieve recognition internationally. Since 1969 he has resided in Italy's great marble-production center of Carrara, where he originally went as a student.

At Kōsanji, the abbot charged Kuetani with designing a monument expressing "love of mother," in keeping with the original purpose of the temple as a memorial to his grandmother. He requested that the sculptor design a dynamic space celebrating life, not a static, traditional monument. Kuetani responded by fashioning three thousand tons of gleaming white Carrara marble into freestanding sculptures, walkways, stairways, a small restaurant, and furniture. He described the structure as "an island floating in the sea or a mountain of stone."[39] He stated that his goal was to create "an environment where man, sculpture, and nature balance and understand each other, where children would be eager to leap onto the sculptures, and where hurried working people could find a little

peace and quiet by being ushered into a time that stands still" (Spencer 2005, 86). Kuetani bestowed on the various parts evocative, spiritual names such as "Tower of Light" (two giant slabs of marble joined like hands in prayer), located at the summit of the Terrace of the White Elephant (Buddhists believe that the buddha Shaka was conceived in India when a white elephant entered the womb of his mother and divinely impregnated her). In a nod to New Age mysticism, a small grotto just beneath the Tower of Light that he titled the "Chair of Comfort and Power" creates a nexus for capturing the energy of the sky and the earth, where visitors can sit and absorb this energy. Kuetani set out to make this monument, which covers 5,000 square meters, his greatest achievement. In 2005 this monument was awarded the Internazionale Marmi e Macchine di Carrara Marble Architectural Award for Urban Landscape even though, after twelve years of effort, the sculptor declared it but half finished.

POSTWAR BUDDHIST monuments are a varied group. Some replicate the appearance of conventional structures, sometimes in wood and sometimes in concrete, but many diverge from tradition to create unexpected types of environments conducive to spiritual contemplation. As before, buildings for formal worship within orthodox temple compounds generally include religious imagery. But the artists chosen to create these images differ according to the intended use of the buildings. Professionals who specialize in Buddhist sculpture and painting produce traditional-looking icons for the most formal of these buildings that contain altars. Other temple structures frequently include less orthodox figural imagery by secular artists. In contrast, nondenominational sites infused with the presence of Buddhism often lack representational icons entirely or incorporate ancient imagery in nontraditional settings. Chapter 10 discusses the varied types of these new images further.

Chapter Ten
Visualizing Faith, 1945–2005

SINCE THE END OF World War II, Japanese Buddhist followers have become divided into two, not always mutually exclusive, groups of enthusiasts: monks and lay practitioners associated with its traditional institutions, and individuals inspired by Buddhist philosophy as propagated by secular scholars. Because of the multiple ways people have come to relate to Buddhism, visual expression takes many forms. Temples continue to generate a need for recognizable representations of the faith's deities, often in response to new devotional practices. Specialists in Buddhist image making, workshops of anonymous artisans, and amateur devotees all create such images. Other visual materials, generally more suggestive or allegorical and the product of professional secular artists, stem from the makers' and the public's interest in nondenominational Buddhism and the humanitarian values that the faith espouses. Scholars and art critics generally regard only these latter materials as art and consider the former emblematic of Buddhism's commodification. This chapter focuses on select artists and types of imagery, both traditional and avant-garde, that exemplify the profusion of visual expression inspired by Buddhism.

Devotional Imagery for Institutional Buddhism

Devotional imagery for orthodox Buddhist practitioners serves the needs of its traditional adherents. This imagery varies widely in style, quality, and material, dependent upon the wealth, taste, and needs of the patrons.

In Japan, where ancient traditions flourish alongside the new, master artists trained in orthodox Buddhist sculpture and painting ateliers live on. Since the

early twentieth century their specialist workshops, scattered throughout Japan, are known as *bussho* (Buddhist workshops). In some cases, these artists learned the craft from their fathers or grandfathers. In others, they turned to this profession because of a personal calling. Some attended specialized art universities, but upon graduation, instead of embarking on a career path as secular artists, they entered ateliers of professional Buddhist image-makers. Others entered these workshops directly following high school. Like professional, secular artists who gain recognition and ultimately patrons through winning prizes at national juried art exhibitions, makers of Buddhist images enter similar competitions, such as the Kyoto Prefectural Handicraft Techniques Competition (Kyōto-fu Kōgei Sangyō Gijutsu Konkūru). They also gain esteem when important temples for which they complete commissions confer upon them the honorary title of Great Master Buddhist Sculptor (Dai busshi). Although their work lacks the patina of age and respect accorded to antique Buddhist art, they have great appeal to contemporary worshipers, who admire their appearance and the ancient techniques they perpetuate.[1]

The largest and most famous of these workshops, the Matsuhisa *bussho* in Kyoto, maintains a network of affiliated regional ateliers where professionals, trained at the main studio, create images for regional clients and teach amateur practitioners. Buddhist image making has become a popular hobby in modern Japan, alongside flower arranging, the tea ceremony, calligraphy, and other traditional arts. Matsuhisa Hōrin (1901–1987) and his son Sōrin (1926–1992) founded the atelier in 1962, after many decades of practice. Hōrin learned the art from his father, a late Meiji sculptor. Their bright, dramatic sculptures and wall paintings grace the halls of many of Japan's most important Buddhist temples, including Naritasan Shinshōji, Natadera, and Shitennōji in Osaka. Since Sōrin's death, the studio has continued under the leadership of his second daughter, Kayū, a sculptor, while his first daughter, Maya, continues to work there creating Buddhist paintings. The lineage has engendered new ateliers as well, established by talented artists whom Hōrin and Sōrin trained.[2]

Arguably the best of these is the Kyoto-based Heian *bussho* of Eri Kōkei (b. 1943) and his wife Eri Sayoko (b. 1945). Kōkei, whose father was also a Buddhist sculptor, specializes in carving, while Sayoko concentrates on painting and application of the ancient technique of cut gold leaf (*kirikane*), which she applies to paintings and her husband's sculptures, as well as to secular three-dimensional decorative arts and wall pieces.[3] In 2002 the Japanese government designated her as a bearer of an Intangible Important Cultural Property, a designation popularly known as a Living National Treasure (Ningen Kokuhō), for her achievements in preserving and advancing this ancient, technically challenging art.[4] Kōkei and Sayoko work in a small atelier with three apprentices and their son, whom they trained but who also studied in Europe.

One of the most intriguing of their many recent commissions was for the subtemple of Fugen'in at Mount Kōya (plate 31). The Eris originally created and installed a statue of the esoteric bodhisattva Kongōsatta (Skt. Vajrasatta) there in 1999. After the statue's installation and ritual dedication, the head priest of the temple decided to change the image to that of the Five Esoteric Ones (Gohimitsu), consisting of Kongosatta surrounded by four other bodhisattvas. Together they personify the Great Pleasure doctrine, in which the four great negative human attachments (desire, arrogance, love, and passion) are transformed into positive means of attaining enlightenment. This iconography can be found in Japanese esoteric Buddhist paintings dating back to the thirteenth century, but never before in sculpture.[5]

The Eris spent several years accomplishing the technically difficult task of modifying the statue to make the new parts meld with the original and then inserting the new sections into the sculpture without damaging the earlier-completed section. They finished the revisions and re-consecrated the image in 2004. The statue and the new, traditionally shaped six-sided building that houses it are part of a new, largely underground complex at this old subtemple on Mount Kōya. The focal point of this endeavor, and the impetus for the new structure, is a small bone fragment of the mortal Buddha, Shaka, called a *busshari* (relic of the Buddha), which was given as a gift in 1996 to Fugen'in from a temple in Nepal and is enshrined in the center of an underground worship hall directly beneath the Gohimitsu statue.

Mukōyoshi Yuboku (b. 1961) and Nakamura Keiboku are another talented husband-and-wife team who head a small Osaka-based atelier where they create original Buddhist sculptures and paintings and repair ancient Buddhist sculptures. Mukōyoshi also occasionally enjoys creating non-Buddhist wood sculpture (among these is a large project with the celebrated American sculptor Charles Ray, born 1953). Mukōyoshi is a fourth-generation Buddhist sculptor whose great-grandfather in the mid-eighteenth century belonged to a prestigious Nara-based Kei-school lineage workshop. His family moved to Kagoshima (the southern tip of Kyushu island) during the Meiji period, where Mukōyoshi was reared and where he received early training from his father. Mukōyoshi came to Kyoto in 1980 to study Buddhist painting with Matsuhisa Sōrin. He met Nakamura, a native of Osaka, in 1982 at the Matsuhisa studio, where she was studying sculpture. Eventually each decided to switch specializations, and today Mukoyōshi carves sculpture and Nakamura decorates the statues with painting and gold leaf and also produces Buddhist pictorial imagery of her own design. Mukōyoshi is a gregarious man who exudes a persona of Buddhist serenity. When asked if inspired to carve because of his belief in Buddhism, he replied that, on the contrary, his years of creating religious imagery led to his deeper understanding of the religion.[6]

One of their most striking joint productions is a statue of the Thousand-Arms Thousand-Eyes Kannon (Senju Sengen Kannon), first designed in 2004. They have made two nearly identical sculptures of this figure, both for private patrons who intend to donate the sculptures to their families after they die (plate 32). Although Buddhist liturgy requires that the image of the deity include accurate iconographic representation, subsidiary sections of the design are left up to the sculptor. So Mukōyoshi devised an unusual pedestal for supporting Kannon's lotus-petal throne. Encircling the statue's base are eight bell-shaped forms surmounted by upright thunderbolt scepters, each containing a crystal ball. These scepters are known as *vajra* (Jp. *kongō*), esoteric Buddhist implements that priests carry during rituals. These objects are also often placed on altars of esoteric temples as symbols of spiritual firmness and because they possess the power to dispel evil. Although normally made of gilt bronze, here Mukōyoshi carved them in wood and Nakamura embellished them with delicate, geometric cut-gold-leaf patterns based on traditional Buddhist designs. Mukōyoshi envisioned these eight objects as representative of the four cardinal and four subsidiary directions of the Buddhist universe, positions occupied by Buddhist guardian figures in traditional paintings of groups of deities and sculptural assemblages on temple altars. Directly beneath the Kannon figure he suspended another crystal ball, representing the soul of the bodhisattva. Enlivened by the original conception of its pedestal and by its graceful expression, delicate features, and restrained, elegant, cut-gold-leaf decoration, this statue epitomizes the refined spirit of contemporary Buddhist sculpture and is testimony to the continued creativity of sculptors working for orthodox Buddhist institutions.

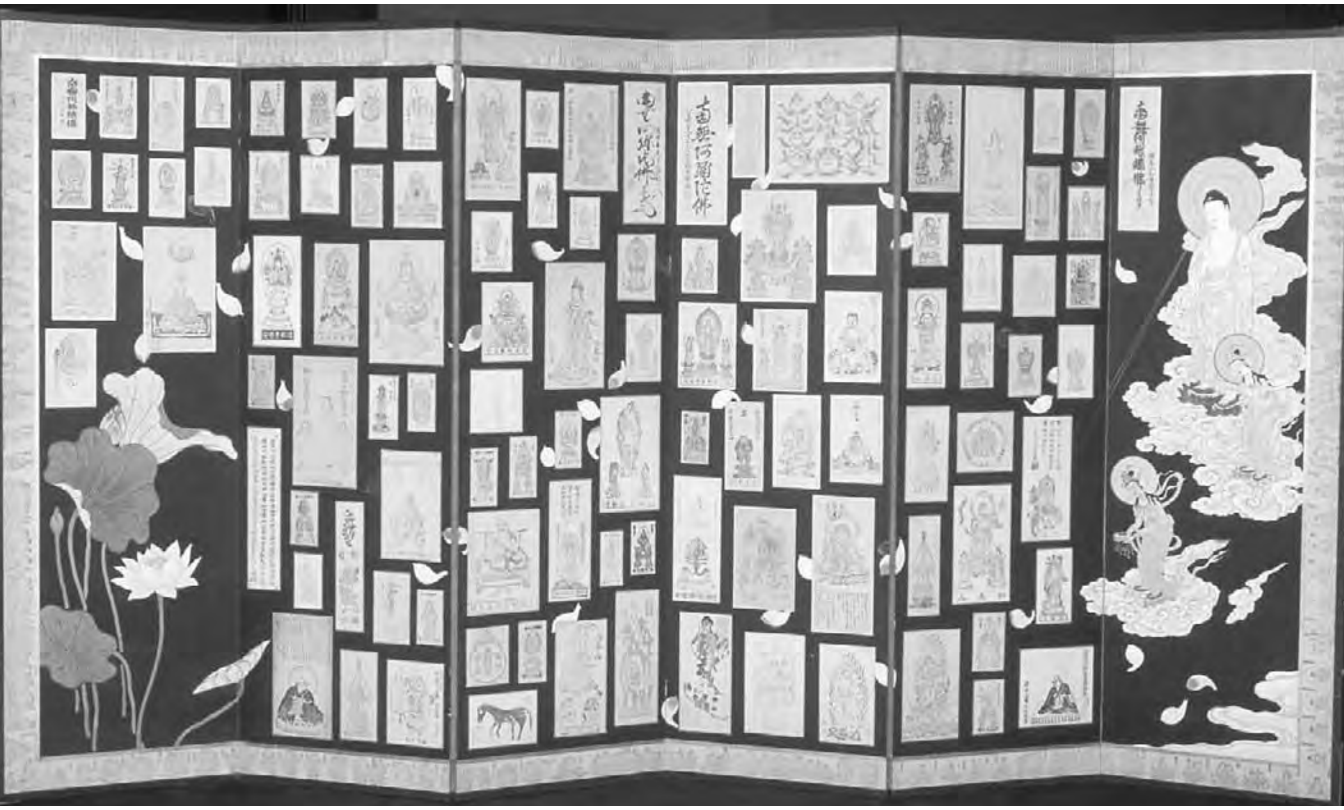
Contemporaneous with the production of religious imagery for temples and patrons by this elite group of talented professionals, the vast amounts of religious imagery that populate most temples are made elsewhere. They are products of less prestigious regional workshops, resulting from the earnest effort of devotees themselves, or they are the creations of self-taught monks. They serve the needs of participants of popular religious practices, especially pilgrimages and memorial services to deceased loved ones.

In the late twentieth century, pilgrimages, in the traditional form of walking trips or in their modern style, the package bus tour, have boomed in Japan.[7] They follow the old Saikoku Kannon and Shikoku pilgrimage circuits and also other regional routes more recently created, dedicated to Kannon and also to the Seven Gods of Good Fortune. People embark on such quests for various reasons and they take many forms, including multiyear sojourns to visit all the temples along one particular circuit or mini-pilgrimages to circuits near their homes. They can even attend museum exhibitions about a famous pilgrimage route as a substitute for taking the journeys themselves.[8] As before, pilgrims purchase talismans and devotional imagery commemorative of their journey.

Most often, pilgrims paste these commemorative prints into albums, but occasionally they commission artists to affix them to hanging scrolls or folding screens, as in the well-preserved example shown in figure 10.1. The right panel shows the buddha Amida and his attendant bodhisattvas descending from the Western Paradise to welcome the soul of a dying believer, while the left panel features lotus flowers, symbols of Buddhist purity. Scattered throughout the screen pale pink and ivory-colored flower petals flutter about, suggestive of the ambience of paradise. Surrounding these painted images, affixed in neat rows, are woodblock-printed votive charms that a pilgrim must have collected from years of travel. Inscriptions on the prints identify the temples from which they came, mostly the Saikoku Kannon and Shikoku pilgrimage routes. Printed images of sacred chants and Buddhist deities circumambulate the perimeter of the screen. Stylistic analysis of the prints suggests that many were cut from older blocks dating to the early nineteenth to mid-twentieth century (it is common practice to use old blocks until they wear out, then recut them as necessary). But the pigments and quality of the painting indicate a production date for the painting no earlier than the 1970s.

Prayers for salvation, good fortune, and absolution from sins account for the plethora of sculpted monuments in stone and bronze that populate the grounds of popular temples in Japan today. These statues first proliferated in the Edo period, but since World War II have increased exponentially in response to new devotional practices that temples promote to augment their income. Detractors of institutional Buddhism decry such customs as crass commercialization and degradation of the faith, but believers see them differently. Following trends that first appeared in the Edo period, the most popular deities represented in these sculptures are Jizō, Kannon, and the Rakan.

Visitors to temples cannot fail to notice numerous small statues of Jizō lined up in rows or scattered throughout temple courtyards. So many of them are dedicated to the Kamakura temple of Hasedera (in 1983 numbers exceeded fifty thousand) that older ones must regularly be removed to make way for newly donated imagery (LaFleur 1992, 4–5) (fig. 10.2). The statues are offerings by people, primarily women, who personalize them with inscriptions and cloth or knitted caps, capes, and bibs. Surprisingly, the ubiquitous presence of these statues at many popular temples dates only to the 1970s and coincides with the escalation in performance of memorial rites for unborn children (*mizuko kuyō;* lit. "memorial rites for children of the waters," a euphemism for aborted fetuses). So accepting are Japanese of abortion that only one Buddhist denomination (albeit a large one), the Jōdo Shin sect, opposes it.[9] Scholars in recent years have tried to explain and often condemn this rite that has no basis in canonical Buddhist literature.[10] It serves both as a prayer for salvation of the fetus and as an apology to it. William LaFleur suggests that *mizuko kuyō* "seems to 'fix' the emotional



10.1. *The Descent of Amida and His Attendant Bodhisattvas* (*Amida Raigō*) adorned with votive images obtained from pilgrimage route temples; painting, late twentieth century; prints, nineteenth to twentieth centuries. Six-panel screen; painted in ink, colors, and gold on paper and woodblock-printed images in ink, 134 × 263 cm. Spencer Museum of Art, University of Kansas. Gift of David H. Weinglass and Marilyn Carbonell.

life of the many persons struggling with their deeply ambivalent feelings about an abortion" (1998, 398).

The ritual derives from premodern devotional practices of women who prayed to Kannon and Jizō for the health of their living children and for the salvation of the souls of those they lost as fetuses or after birth. Kannon, as a protective mother figure in female guise, was known as the Compassionate Mother Kannon (Jibo Kannon) and the Child-Rearing or Child-Protecting Kannon (Komochi or Koyasu Kannon).[11] In deference to popular custom, since the 1970s she has been renamed Mizuko Kannon. One of the earliest statues so named, dated 1970, resides in the courtyard of the Tendai-sect Daikanjin subtemple of the pilgrimage temple Zenkōji in Nagano (fig. 10.3).[12] This large bronze statue of Kannon cradling a baby forms a locus for the bereaved mothers' prayers. According to the temple, the statue owes its creation to a priest from Fukui Prefecture who commissioned it from an unnamed artist and had it installed



10.2. Rows of Jizō Bodhisattva statues at Hasedera, Kamakura, installed between 2000 and 2004. Stone with cloth and yarn accoutrements, height of each ca. 40 cm. Photograph by author.

there following a directive he received in a dream.[13] She stands in the center of a pool of water surrounded by bouquets of flowers left by devotees. In the background can be seen a stand for votive tablets. Here, instead of the usual wooden placards, women leave offerings of small toys and dolls. Devotees activate the deity's powers by throwing water at the statue in ritual ablution, using ladles laid out for this purpose.

Participatory expressions of reverence towards sculpted representations of deities, noted in the Edo period, remain popular among today's Buddhist devotees. Not only do they rub, wash, or clothe the sacred images, but they also sometimes produce them. One temple famous for its sculptures, all created by devotees, is Otagi Nenbutsuji, a small Tendai-sect temple on the hillside of the Arashiyama District of Kyoto. The temple had originally been established in the city center in the eighth century and moved to its current setting in 1922.[14] In 1951 a typhoon razed its buildings and it stood dilapidated until 1976, when the young, newly appointed head priest at the time, Nishimura Kōei (b. 1955), decided to restore it. With completion of the buildings in 1981, in honor of their renewal and to raise money for the temple's upkeep, he invited Nishimura Kōchō (1915–2003), previously the temple's head priest (from 1955) and professor at the Tokyo University of Fine Arts and Music, to teach parishioners how to make stone carvings of Rakan in exchange for small donations. The elder, illustrious Nishimura worked as a sculptor and conservator of Buddhist images and wrote prolifically about historic Buddhist sculpture. The temple provided stone blocks



10.3. *Kannon with Child* (*Mizuko Kannon*), installed in the courtyard of the Daikanjin nunnery, a subtemple of Zenkōji, Nagano Prefecture, 1970. Cast bronze. Height: approx. 150 cm. Photograph by author.

and Nishimura gave lessons to hundreds of people.[15] By 1991, over twelve hundred charmingly naive statues filled the temple's grounds, a sharp contrast to the factory-like regularity of the rows of Jizō statues at Hasedera (fig. 10.4). Varying from serene to sincere to terrifying to eccentric, these images encapsulate the saintly spirit that Rakan exude. Simultaneously, their resemblance to real people (who could be Rakan in disguise) makes them instantly appealing to visitors. As a result, the temple has become a nationally famous pilgrimage center for groups of amateur aficionados of stone Buddhist carvings (*sekibutsu*).

Artists Inspired by Transnational, Nondenominational Buddhism

Throughout the twentieth century, the influence of Buddhism and of its philosophical tenets appears in the art of numerous Japanese artists working independently of, though occasionally on commission for, formal Buddhist organizations. While awareness of traditional imagery informs their pictorial images or their titles, often the Buddhist content is tempered by prevailing Western conceptions of the personal nature of artistic creativity. In addition, many of these artists derive the language of their visual expression from several influential Western twentieth-century art movements, including abstract expressionism, pop, conceptualism, and minimalism, some of whose pioneers had themselves been inspired by Buddhism.[16]



10.4. Rows of Rakan statues at Otagi Nenbutsuji, Arashiyama, 1970s–2003. Stone. Height: approx. 65 cm. Photograph by author.

Some of these artists have removed representational imagery from their art, focusing exclusively on line and color and reducing images to their most essential form to express the enlightened state of nothingness that constitutes the Buddha Mind. Others insert references to Buddhism or its iconographic imagery into seemingly secular images to elucidate the interconnectedness of the sacred and profane. Still others focus on the process and conception of their art rather than an end product. With few exceptions, they eschew sect-specific references. Although the artists presented here are all Japanese citizens, born and reared in Japan, their art is not always appreciated in their homeland. Some find greater admiration among art enthusiasts abroad.

Through this worldwide reception, these artists transcend the specificity of their cultural identity to become spiritual guides for a new, more globally oriented transnational Buddhism. This pan-Asian orientation in Japanese Buddhists began during the prewar period and, as already discussed, was connected with the country's expansionist policies into Asia. Transformed in the aftermath of World War II, it has remained one of the defining characteristics of Japanese Buddhism into the early twenty-first century. Many postwar artists inspired by Buddhism use their nondenominational Buddhist art as a means to reach diverse audiences in order to promote their advocacy of world peace or universal Buddhist values. So many artists have been inspired by Buddhism in these ways in postwar Japan that I present here only a representative sampling of their creations to highlight the diversity of their visual expressions.[17]

Sawada Seikō (1894–1988)

Sawada Seikō was one of the best wood sculptors at the dawn of the modern period who bridged the divide between traditional Buddhist image-makers and modern artists inspired by Buddhism.[18] As a child in Atami, a resort town in Shizuoka Prefecture near Tokyo, he wanted to study painting, but instead his parents had him apprenticed to Yamamoto Zuiun, a distant relative in Tokyo, the same wood sculptor who had initially taught Miki Sōsaku (see plate 26). Eventually Seikō began taking classes in a formal art school in Tokyo and had pieces accepted to juried competitions, beginning with the third annual Teiten exhibition in 1921. That same year he enrolled in his first teacher's alma mater, the Tokyo School of Fine Arts. He studied there under Asakura Fumio (1883–1964), widely acknowledged as the father of modern Japanese sculpture and referred to as the "Rodin of Japan."

Seikō's oeuvre ranged from traditional Buddhist imagery to self-portraits and allegorical figural sculpture. He worked in various media, but primarily wood, bronze, and cast resin. Many of his works reside in public museums, including two devoted exclusively to his achievements.[19] He also carved statues for worship halls at temples of diverse Buddhist sects. These commissions include the central icons for Kongōbuji at Mount Kōya (1968); the Main Hall (Shakaden) at the Tokyo headquarters of the Reiyūkai (1975), a new Buddhist lay organization; and the reconstructed West Pagoda at Yakushiji in Nara (1981).

From his teacher Fumio, Seikō learned to be a modern artist. To do so he had to study diligently and widely, developing an understanding of the achievements of Western masters such as Picasso and Chagall, as well as philosophy, and not simply rely on innate talent.[20] Still, he believed that art must emerge from the artist's heart and surpass representation of outward forms.[21] Although he declined to associate with organized religious institutions, he created art from the perspective of a deeply religious person who believed that though religion and art had separated in the modern world, they were originally inseparable. Seikō recognized that early Japanese Buddhist sculpture was not created as art but for religious use. Only later did people come to regard it as art because, he believed, of its intrinsic beauty. He held in especially high regard two Edo-period Buddhist monks, Enkū and Mokujiki (see figs. 6.7 and 6.8), who as sculptors created beautiful images because of their devotion to Buddhism. Yet Seikō considered himself not a craftsman, like premodern professional makers of Buddhist images, but a modern artist intent upon instilling new life and beauty into the portrayal of Buddhist sculpture to make it compatible with future generations.

Representative of Seikō's artistic vision is his seated six-armed bodhisattva of 1983, titled *Lotus* (*Renge*) (plate 33), after Buddhism's sacred flower. Critics generally regard it as one of his masterpieces. His title and the figure's indistinct

iconography (it lacks identifying attributes) reveal that this is not a canonical Buddhist icon. Although it somewhat resembles a famous ninth-century statue of Nyōirin Kannon at Kanshinji in Osaka, a lithograph that Seikō did in 1979 of Aizen Myōō (Skt. Rāgarāja), the Buddhist Bright King of Love, is generally credited as the preparatory drawing for this work.[22] Its serene facial expression, languid pose with gently undulating arms, and muted colors infuse it with a recognizably Buddhist aura of peace and serenity. Although Seikō may have looked to ancient sculptures for his model, his sculpture is endowed with his personal style, characterized by a sensitivity to the delineation of the facial features and a delicate, muted application of colors, which he considered an essential element of successful sculpture. Seikō's adaptation of Buddhist iconography encapsulates the attitude of most modern Japanese artists who represent the religion's deities and sacred realms as familiar but somehow transformed.

NAKAMURA SHINYA (b. 1926)

Like Sawada Seikō, Nakamura Shinya specializes in modern figurative sculpture imbued with religious sentiments, but instead of portraying the transcendental deities and other allegorical figures that Seikō favored, his interest lies in representation of real people who serve as models of morality for the modern world. Born in Mie Prefecture in central Japan, Nakamura began the study of sculpture with Koga Tadao (1903–1979), a graduate, like Seikō, of the Tokyo School of Fine Arts. Unlike Seikō, though, who left Japan only when his works were shown abroad very late in his life, Nakamura traveled to France and Spain in the 1960s to study with prominent European sculptors. While in Europe and during subsequent trips in the 1990s, Nakamura visited many Christian churches, the Vatican museums in Rome, and important pilgrimage sites, including Santiago de Compostela in Spain, dedicated to Saint James, one of the twelve disciples of Jesus. Ironically, this visit deepened Nakamura's interest in the Buddhist faith because it prompted him to wonder why he had not heard of Buddhist temples dedicated to the Ten Great Disciples of the Buddha Shaka.

Nakamura knew that earlier Japanese artists had portrayed representations of these disciples, but he felt these earlier images captured only the artistic style prevalent at the time they were made, not the compassionate and noble spirit of the men who had lived so long ago in India. So as part of a yearning to find "the original landscape of Buddhism," he traveled to India and Nepal to understand these great Buddhist devotees better. Upon his return, he desired to spread appreciation for these disciples, who he believed had become overshadowed by emphasis on worship of bodhisattvas and Buddha relics. In 2000 Nakamura offered to make a set of sculptures of these men for Yakushiji in Nara for placement in the temple's soon-to-be reconstructed Great Lecture Hall (see plate



10.5. Nakamura Shinya (b. 1926). *The Ten Great Disciples of the Buddha Shaka* (*Shaka Jūdai deshi*), 2000. Great Lecture Hall at Yakushiji, Nara. Cast bronze. Height of each: approx. 180 cm. Photograph: Nishimiya Masaaki, courtesy of Seihōsha and Nakamura Shinya.

27). He aimed to reunite appreciation of these disciples with reverence for the Buddha in the sacred space of this new hall. Nakamura's statues stand behind the wall that separates the altar, upon which the main statues sit, from the back ambulatory space within the building (fig. 10.5).

The sculptures Nakamura created for this building typify his efforts to represent the inner life, not simply the outward form, of his subjects. He has written that he became drawn to these disciples because of their ability to "serve as good pilots on the path of the thread of our lives."[23] He wanted them to "show to people today a path towards peace." His sculptures portray the disciples, gaunt and simply dressed, as befitting their ascetic lifestyle, standing still and facing the viewer while engaged in conversation or in prayer. Because Nakamura believes the face captures a person's true character, he expended the most effort at delineating each face carefully, creating uncannily penetrating portraits of deeply devout individuals.

HIRAYAMA IKUO (b. 1930)

Hirayama Ikuo is a Nihonga painter who, like Nakamura, also uses Buddhist imagery as a vehicle for promoting the religion's relevance to modern life and world peace.[24] He is one of Japan's most famous artists, respected internationally as much for his humanitarian efforts as for his art. He rose from humble beginnings as son of a head priest at a small Buddhist temple in the town of Setoda-chō on the island of Ikuchijima (where Kōsanji is located) to become president of the prestigious Tokyo University of Fine Arts and Music (the former Tokyo School of Fine Arts, from which he graduated). He also serves as a UNESCO Goodwill Ambassador and founder of that organization's Red Cross Spirit for Cultural Heritage, which aims to foster appreciation for and protection of the world's great cultural properties. To further this goal, he established the Tokyo-based nonprofit Foundation for Cultural Heritage and Art Research.

Hirayama assisted the war effort as a junior high school student in Hiroshima during World War II. He was there when the atomic bomb was dropped and suffered serious radiation sickness afterwards. While ill during the 1950s he found solace in Buddhism, around the same time he chose painting as his vocation. However, he claims allegiance to no particular Buddhist sect and in fact does not consider himself exclusively a Buddhist. His wife is Christian, so through her he has gained understanding of and appreciation for Christian teachings. His shunning of association with institutional Buddhism typifies the attitude of many Buddhists in Japan today and the world over who are inspired by Buddhism's universal values of compassion that other faiths share. Sometimes, because he feels affinity with other world religions, he portrays images relating to them in his art.

Although he wishes people throughout the world, regardless of their professed religious affiliation, to appreciate his art, many of his paintings feature Buddhist subjects and references to its religious tradition, especially those in which he espouses peace and cross-cultural communications. Among these works, many illustrate the transmission of Buddhism along the Central Asian Silk Road, a subject related to his work for UNESCO, where he strives to preserve cultural heritage sites in India and Central Asia, places connected with the early centuries of Buddhism and its spread eastward to China and Japan. Outstanding among these is a large series of wall paintings he completed in 2001 for Yakushiji as part of the celebration of the temple's restoration of its Great Lecture Hall, a complement to Nakamura Shinya's *Ten Great Disciples of the Buddha Shaka* sculptures, conceived around the same time (Wriggins 2001).

Among Hirayama's works that make an appeal for peace, his six-panel folding screen, *Hiroshima Reborn* (*Hiroshima shōhenzu*), completed in 1979 (plate 34), stands out as his most personal statement against war. He presented it to the

Hiroshima Prefectural Museum of Art after its initial display at the Inten exhibition that year. The painting portrays the sky as a sea of flames and the skeletal Atomic Dome building towering above nearby ruins, with the Buddhist deity Fudō Myōō hovering above. Hirayama wrote that though he long wanted to paint about his experience in Hiroshima, he had avoided doing so before completing this work because his memories were too painful. As he pondered how to depict the conflagration, he saw in his mind nothing but the city in flames. But a visit to the Hiroshima Peace Park's Cenotaph during a memorial service inspired him to focus not on the tragedy as a historic event in and of itself, but as a way to inspire hope in viewers and serve as a prayer for peace. Therefore he decided to include a Buddhist deity in the picture, as protector of the city and savior of those who had died. After considering and rejecting the inclusion of Buddhism's most famous compassionate deities, Amida and Kannon, he decided to include the wrathful Bright King, Fudō Myōō, always portrayed within a ring of fire. He saw Fudō as a fitting a symbol of the reborn city, of life emerging from within the flames of destruction.[25] More recently, he wrote that "the wrath in the eyes of Fudō Myōō as he gazes at the blazing city below is directed against war, with an exhortation to mortals to see that Hiroshima shall be born again."[26] In 1994 the city installed a life-size, photographic reproduction of the screen on ceramic tile panels on the lower floor of the Peace Memorial Museum so that the image as a symbol of the resurrected city would be visible to the numerous visitors to that museum (the original painting, a delicate work on paper, can only occasionally be displayed publicly).

Yamanaka Manabu (b. 1959)

Yamanaka Manabu is a photographer who also invokes images of Buddhist deities in his striking photographs of real people.[27] He grew up in a working-class neighborhood in the Osaka suburb of Amagasaki, where community life revolved around local Buddhist festivals.[28] However, he did not feel deeply about Buddhism until after he had moved to Tokyo at the age of twenty-three. There, he worked first as a commercial photographer but soon decided to try creating an artistic series of photographs of life-size portraits of homeless people (fig. 10.6). He titled the series *Arakan* (*Rakan*) because the homeless men whom he photographed seemed to embody the spirit of Rakan, the Buddha's devout followers who lived as ascetics in impoverished circumstances within but separate from the world around them. Yamanaka conceived of this series after encountering numerous homeless people who seemed somehow pure because of their estrangement from ordinary life, qualities that the Buddhist Rakan had possessed. After six years of research and production, he first exhibited this series in 1989.



10.6. Yamanaka Manabu (b. 1959). *Arakan series #1 (Homeless Person as Rakan),* 1989. Black-and-white photograph, 180 × 90 cm. Photograph courtesy of Yamanaka Manabu.

Viewers' immediate recognition of these figures as possessing the qualities of both vagrants and saints is not unlike the effect Mori Sosen's naturalistic rendering of Shussan Shaka (see plate 14) must have had on his audience. To accomplish these photos, Yamanaka had to first gain the trust of his wary, often mentally ill subjects. He did this by living in small capsule hotels near homeless communities. In all, he photographed about six hundred men, mainly in Osaka and Tokyo. From this large number, he selected a Buddhist canonical number — sixteen — for inclusion in his series.

His studies of Buddhism for this series led to his deeper engagement with the universal values of the faith that he continues to convey in his art. One subsequent series, *Fujōkan* (Decomposing animals) featured dead animals he found on a beach, inspired by the traditional Buddhist concept of *kusō,* the subject of Kikuchi Yōsai's painting, *The Inevitable Change* (see plate 15). In *Fujōkan* Yamanaka emphasized the Buddhist concept of death as a natural extension of life, a concept that crystallized at a young age, when he witnessed the death of his grandmother in the home she shared with his family and also after a traffic accident killed his favorite pet dog. Other series feature people whom he believes personify Buddhist deities or saintly personages. One, *Gyahtei,* focused on extremely elderly nude women valiantly posing for his camera. In another, *Doshi* (Buddhist acolytes, young children who accompany and assist deities), he sought to show that living children possess this saintly spirit. But because of the extreme materialism of Japanese society, Yamanaka felt that he could find such children to photograph only in remote Southeast Asian villages, where Buddhism in a purer form continues to flourish.

In all his series, Yamanaka explains that his goal is to find and reveal a kind of inner beauty in his subjects, one that exceeds the superficial notion of "pretty." However, due to the disturbing and confrontational nature of his images, his work is not so popular in Japan. Nevertheless, he continues to reside in Tokyo, but shows his work primarily through a New York gallery.

MAEDA JŌSAKU (b. 1926)

Maeda Jōsaku is one of a number of Japanese artists who take as his starting point not Buddhism's saints or deities, but rather its sacred sites and transcendent realms, especially mandalas (cosmic diagrams of the Buddhist universe), first conceived in the esoteric Buddhist sects. Because of a tradition of secrecy and oral transmission of esoteric rituals, contemporary scholars cannot be sure exactly how these mandalas were used or interpreted long ago when they were devised. But it is clear that their purpose was to aid believers' quests for enlightenment.

Maeda works in a Japanese painting tradition known as Yōga (Western-style painting), using oil or acrylic paints on a framed, stretched-canvas format, and

creates lithographs and silk-screen prints. Like Hirayama, Maeda has achieved renown for his art both within Japan and worldwide, and he, too, is a well-respected academic, president of the prestigious Musashino Art University in Tokyo, his alma mater.[29] Also like Hirayama, he occasionally paints works for temples of various sects and is warmly regarded by the orthodox Buddhist establishment, who appreciate his original interpretations of iconic Buddhist images.[30]

Maeda first traveled to Paris in the 1950s, studying Western art for five years. Writing about a Paris exhibition of his paintings in 1960, a French critic described them as "mandala-like." Only after seeing this comment did Maeda realize that although he had not consciously invoked such imagery, he was indeed drawn to it through his faith in Shingon Buddhism, whose ritual practices place great importance on mandalas. This devotion obliges him to approach painting itself as a religious act; he always meditates prior to taking brush to paper. He has completed many series of paintings and prints featuring diagrammatic imagery of temples along the Kannon pilgrimage circuits and of various forms of mandalas, especially the Shingon sect's "Mandala of the Two Worlds," composed of two separate components, the Diamond World and the Womb World. His *Meditation on the Silver River* (*Ginka meisō*) (plate 35), from his *Personal Impressions of Mandalas* (*Kansō mandara shirizu*), completed between 1980 and 1982, is one of a pair of paintings he completed that represents his free interpretation of this Shingon mandala. Here, Maeda visualized the Diamond World mandala, which "represents reality in the Buddha realm, the world of the unconditioned, the real, the universal, and the absolute."[31] Maeda wrote that in his mandala paintings he attempted to create a pictorial vision of the centripetal and centrifugal forces of the coming and going of the limitless universe and the motion of all things within it.[32] His early mandala paintings, like this one, borrowed literally from orthodox mandala imagery, although they did so with great imagination, as here, turning the flat, gridlike composition of the original into a futuristic three-dimensional rendering. In later paintings of mandalas, "he came to portray a mystical realm he had experienced in his own mind."[33]

KONDŌ KŌMEI (b. 1924)

A contemporary of Maeda, Kondō Kōmei also specializes in representing Buddha worlds in his art, particularly that of the Buddhist paradise into which believers are reborn after death. He does this from the perspective of an ordained Tendai-sect priest using the visual language of Nihonga. He first began painting as a child, studying traditional Buddhist painting from his father, head priest of a Tokyo Tendai-sect temple. During World War II he enrolled in the Tokyo School of Fine Arts, but he interrupted his studies when called into military service in 1944. During glider training in the mountains near Karuizawa in Nagano Prefecture, Kondō experienced an epiphany — after seeing small plants high

atop a mountain peak, he yearned to be free like them. He recalled later that the beauty he discerned on this occasion became the inspiration for his paintings. During his military training he fell ill and was treated at a military hospital before returning to civilian life. After the war, as eldest son he followed his father's profession and briefly entered the Tendai priesthood, where he recovered his health, studied Tendai philosophy, and had his eyes opened to the symbolism in the mysterious world of Buddhist painting. But he soon left the clergy and returned to Tokyo to complete his degree in painting at the Tokyo School of Fine Arts. He has worked as a professional painter ever since. Although he has never studied abroad, his paintings have been shown worldwide since the 1960s in various international exhibition venues of modern Japanese art.

Throughout his career, Kondō has focused on portraying the magnificent beauty of the Buddhist paradise in landscape scenes occasionally complemented by the ethereal form of the bodhisattva Kannon. He sees his art as a continuum of the work of Buddhist painters of the past, whose pictures gave concrete form to the unfathomable splendor of Buddhist truths.[34] Representative of his paintings is *Illusionary Light*, completed in 1987, a visualization of the Western Paradise of the Buddha Amida, with a yellow orb of the sun setting amidst a deeply red cloud-filled sky where golden butterflies flutter gracefully around a bejeweled wisteria vine (plate 36).

MORI MARIKO (b. 1967)

Mori Mariko joins traditional Buddhist iconography and futuristic visions in mesmerizing multimedia photo and video installations that transport viewers into her visualizations of enlightenment, mystic Buddha worlds that fuse the spiritual and material realms. Her art forces viewers to question their notions of reality as it envelops them in all-encompassing environments, complete with interactive elements and sounds that encourage tranquil and meditative frames of minds, similar in spirit, but perhaps more intense, to the immersive atmosphere that Taniguchi attempted to create in his Hōryūji Treasure Hall at the Tokyo National Museum (see fig. 9.9).

Mori first left Japan at age twenty to study in London and then New York, after a brief stint as a fashion model in her teen years. She now divides her time between New York and Tokyo. She left Japan, she says, in search of individuality and freedom of expression.[35] Only after long residence abroad did she seek to reconnect with her roots. This led to her formal study of Buddhism in 1996 and her observation that although Japanese people may not formally follow the faith's tenets, its respect for all life and its overriding concern for maintenance of harmony with nature make up an integral part of the Japanese worldview, different from the Western presumption that humankind dominates nature.[36] Through her art she endeavors to show the relevance of such values beyond

cultural and national borders and that “in the next millennium, the power and energy of the human spirit should unify the world” (Mori 1998, 11).

Mori is a modern-day pop artist in the spirit of the Dada artist Marcel Duchamp (1887–1968), whose “readymades” included his infamous *Fountain* of 1917, an inverted urinal that commentators of his day likened to the image of a seated Buddha (Baas 2005, 83). Mori enjoys inserting herself, in the guise of deities or shamans, into her surreal scenes, much like anime fans who “cosplay” (“costume play,” dressing up in the costume of favorite anime characters). Typical of her extravagant installations is *Nirvana* (1996–1998), titled after the Buddhist state of enlightenment. It includes an acrylic lotus-shape sculpture, a three-dimensional video (that viewers watch after donning special glasses), and four huge glass photographs of dramatic vistas of famous locations throughout the world that symbolize four forces of nature — earth, air, fire, and water. One of these, *Pure Land* (plate 37), shows an unearthly vision of the Dead Sea with Mori, assuming the persona of a bodhisattva, hovering over a cartoon-like fantasy version of the Pure Land Buddhist paradise. Such inventive, whimsical, pop art interpretations of central Buddhist concerns have found enthusiastic responses from Western audiences, more so than from Japanese.

DŌMOTO INSHŌ (1891–1975)

Other Japanese artists inspired by Buddhism chose to represent their faith through abstract rather than representational imagery. Foremost among these is Dōmoto Inshō, who in his youth showed paintings in the same 1920s Teiten exhibitions where Sawada Seikō exhibited his sculptures. While Seikō maintained the same course throughout his career, Inshō embarked on a radically different artistic trajectory in the post–World War II period. After he traveled to Europe for study in 1952, one of the few artists to do so soon after the war, he abruptly reinvented himself as an abstract artist, abandoning representation of figural imagery as characterized by paintings such as *Yuima* (see plate 24). Although he was the first Nihonga painter to embrace abstraction completely, some Interwar artists had incorporated elements of it and others had formed radical art associations designed to inject a new spirit of modernity into their art (Rimer 1995a, 65–66). By the time Inshō instigated this change he had become a much-loved artist, and this turnaround garnered him a mixed public reception domestically, though it attracted the interest of foreigners through shows of his work in Europe and New York. Inshō wrote that he initiated this new direction because “without breaking free from everything in the past, there can be no true creativity. The denial of tradition based on pure awareness is itself genuine tradition. Only from years of experience and faith can this be done. Thus I ventured forth into creativism.”[37] Among his sources, he credits the Russian-born abstract painter Wassily Kandinsky (1866–1944), who was himself interested in Buddhist philosophy.[38]

In his abstract paintings, Inshō sought to unearth the divine essence of visual expression using only color, line, and form, completely distant from the material world. This spirit infused many of his later, nonrepresentational paintings, in which his occasional titles alluded to Buddhism, such as *Consciousness, Perception of Infinity, Fulfillment of Prayer,* or *Endless Circulation.*[39] He painted many works in this spontaneous style for important temples, with those at the Zen temple of Kokedera (alternately called Saihōji, completed in 1965) and his family's Jōdo-sect mortuary temple of Hōnen'in (completed 1971) the most well known. One painting of this type is *Wind God* (*Fujin*), named after the Buddhist protective deity appropriated from Hindu mythology. He is usually portrayed as an *oni* flying through the air carrying a bag of wind and paired with the god of thunder (Raijin) — and this painting also once had a mate. Inshō completed this aniconic image in 1960 (plate 38**),** and the following year he included it in a special exhibition of his art that opened in Turin, Italy, then toured other cities in Europe. The exhibit was praised by the influential French critic Michel Tapié (1909–1987), who helped teach Japanese artists about abstraction and who had previously visited Inshō's home in Kyoto.[40] The painting eschews literal definition of the form of the deity, but evokes his spiritual presence in swirling, spontaneous brushwork and bold patches of bright colors.

MATSUZAWA YUTAKA (1922–2006)

Matsuzawa Yutaka led the international postwar modernist conceptual art movement (called Gainenha — lit. "concept art" — in Japanese) that first arose in the 1960s and remained active through the 1970s, with Japanese artists as some of its instigators.[41] Artists who ascribed to conceptual art's ideals turned away from the formalism of mid-twentieth-century modernist art and instead questioned the meaning of art itself by emphasizing its theoretical conception (often in texts) instead of a finished product. Sometimes these artists made use of found materials, and often their art was participatory, calling upon viewers to complete the art in their minds.

The scholar Alexandra Munroe suggests that the sub-branch of conceptualism in Japan, as practiced by Matsuzawa and his compatriots, should be called the School of Metaphysics because of its stress on the interrelationships between Buddhism, metaphysics, quantum physics, and cosmology, which she describes as a "philosophical investigation into the nature of time-space-infinity and existence-death-eternity" (Munroe 1994, 222). Matsuzawa is considered the father of this movement in Japan. He and his followers actually called themselves the "Nirvana school," named after the Buddhist state of enlightenment (Tomii 1999, 20). Matsuzawa championed the use of process-oriented art with text in lieu of images, which emerged from his critique of "the materialism of modern civilization as a whole." He is said to have developed this philosophy in 1964

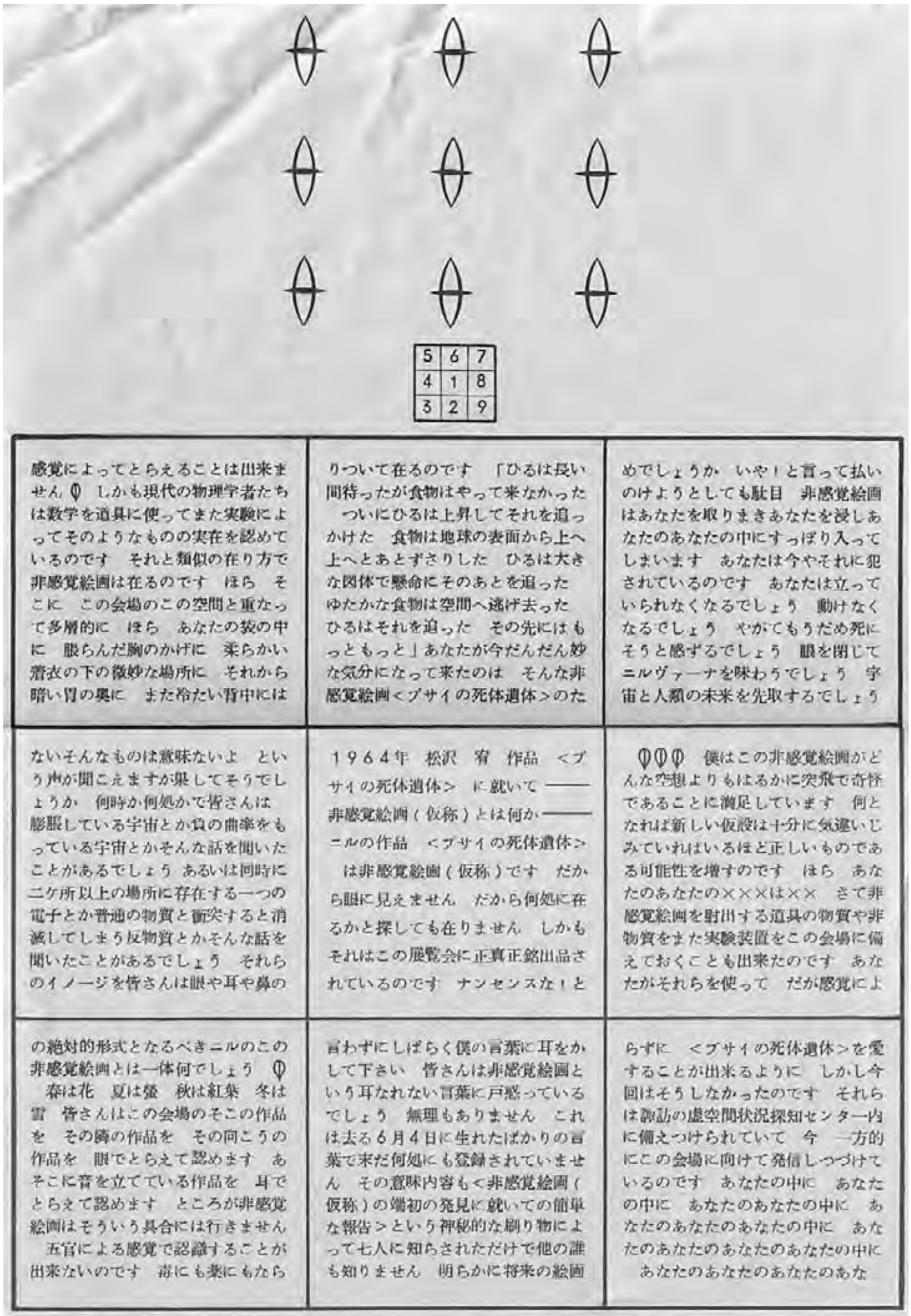
upon hearing a voice that commanded, "Vanish Objects! He thereupon set out to create art solely from text, as a denunciation of art's materiality and human sense-reception" (Tomii 1999, 19).

Matsuzawa first became interested in conceptual art after leaving Japan for postgraduate study in the philosophy of religion and contemporary art at Columbia University between 1955 and 1957. Previously he had studied architecture at Waseda University and, after graduation, briefly taught mathematics and published poetry on the theme of immortality. During his sojourn in America, Matsuzawa grew increasingly interested in the metaphysical tenets of Shingon Buddhism, whose influence appears in his first artwork, dated 1964, *ΨCorpseΨ* (*Pusai no shitai itai*) (fig. 10.7), a large handbill with a geometric diagram in the form of the Shingon sect's Diamond World mandala, the same mandala that inspired Maeda Jōsaku (see plate 35).[42] Matsuzawa designed his handbill to be read in the prescribed manner of contemplating its images, beginning with the text in the central square, then moving to the box below that, then clockwise through the remaining boxes.[43] His text describes his new art as nonsensory painting and compares it to quantum mechanics, stating,

> [It] cannot be perceived by the five senses. Some may say such a work that has no virtue or vice is meaningless; however, is it really so? Somewhere and sometime, you may have heard of the expanding universe or the universe with negative curvature; or of a single electron that simultaneously exists in two places; or antimatter that will disappear upon colliding with ordinary matter. You cannot perceive their images by your eyes, ears, noses. In fact, contemporary physicists have proved their existence by means of mathematics or experiments. In a similar way, nonsensory painting exists. There it is, manifoldly overlapping the space of this exhibition; there it is, in your bag, under your ample breasts, at that delicate place beneath your soft clothes; and in the depths of your stomach; or it is sticking onto your cold back. . . . Nonsensory painting surrounds you, saturates you, enters into you. You are being invaded by it. Soon, you won't be able to stand, to move. You will soon feel that you cannot stand it anymore, that you will die. You will close your eyes and experience nirvana. You will precipitately see the future of the universe and human beings.[44]

ŌKURA JIRŌ (b. 1942)

Ōkura Jirō creates minimalist, abstract sculptures, most often using his favorite medium of fragrant Japanese camphor laurel wood (*kusunoki*). He has also substituted brush and ink and occasionally, recently, has used society's detritus, especially in collaborative projects with members of workshops he has taught both overseas and in Japan. He grew up and still resides in Uji, near the Ōbaku Zen-sect headquarters of Manpukuji. His study of Zen meditation there during his youth has profoundly influenced his approach to art production, which has



5	6	7
4	1	8
3	2	9

１９６４年　松沢　宥　作品　＜ブサイの死体遺体＞　に就いて——
非感覚絵画（仮称）とは何か——
ニルの作品　＜ブサイの死体遺体＞
　は非感覚絵画（仮称）です　だから眼に見えません　だから何処に在るかと探しても在りません　しかもそれはこの展覧会に正真正銘出品されているのです　ナンセンスな！と

言わずにしばらく僕の言葉に耳をかして下さい　皆さんは非感覚絵画という耳なれない言葉に戸惑っているでしょう　無理もありません　これは去る６月４日に生れたばかりの言葉で未だ何処にも登録されていません　その意味内容も＜非感覚絵画（仮称）の端初の発見に就いての簡単な報告＞という神秘的な刷り物によって七人に知らされただけで他の誰も知りません　明らかに将来の絵画

の絶対的形式となるべきニルのこの非感覚絵画とは一体何でしょう　Ψ
　春は花　夏は螢　秋は紅葉　冬は雪　皆さんはこの会場のそこの作品を　その隣の作品を　その向こうの作品を　眼でとらえて認めます　あそこに音を立てている作品を　耳でとらえて認めます　ところが非感覚絵画はそういう具合には行きません
　五官による感覚で認識することが出来ないのです　毒にも薬にもなら

ないそんなものは意味ないよ　という声が聞こえますが果してそうでしょうか　何時か何処かで皆さんは膨脹している宇宙とか負の曲率をもっている宇宙とかそんな話を聞いたことがあるでしょう　あるいは同時に二ケ所以上の場所に存在する一つの電子とか普通の物質と衝突すると消滅してしまう反物質とかそんな話を聞いたことがあるでしょう　それらのイメージを皆さんは眼や耳や鼻の

感覚によってとらえることは出来ません　Ψ　しかも現代の物理学者たちは数学を道具に使ってまた実験によってそのようなものの実在を認めているのです　それと類似の在り方で非感覚絵画は在るのです　ほら　そこに　この会場のこの空間と重なって多層的に　ほら　あなたの袋の中に　脹らんだ胸のかげに　柔らかい着衣の下の微妙な場所に　それから暗い胃の奥に　また冷たい背中には

りついて在るのです　「ひるは長い間待ったが食物はやって来なかった
　ついにひるは上昇してそれを追っかけた　食物は地球の表面から上へ上へとあとずさりした　ひるは大きな図体で懸命にそのあとを追った
ゆたかな食物は空間へ逃げ去った
ひるはそれを追った　その先にはもっともっと」あなたが今だんだん妙な気分になって来たのは　そんな非感覚絵画＜ブサイの死体遺体＞のた

めでしょうか　いや！と言って払いのけようとしても駄目　非感覚絵画はあなたを取りまきあなたを浸しあなたのあなたの中にすっぽり入ってしまいます　あなたは今やそれに犯されているのです　あなたは立っていられなくなるでしょう　動けなくなるでしょう　やがてもうだめ死にそうと感ずるでしょう　眼を閉じてニルヴァーナを味わうでしょう　宇宙と人類の未来を先取するでしょう

　ΨΨΨ　僕はこの非感覚絵画がどんな空想よりもはるかに突飛で奇怪であることに満足しています　何となれば新しい仮設は十分に気違いじみていればいるほど正しいものである可能性を増すのです　ほら　あなたのあなたの×××は××　さて非感覚絵画を射出する道具の物質や非物質をまた実験装置をこの会場に備えておくことも出来たのです　あなたがそれらを使って　だが感覚によ

らずに　＜ブサイの死体遺体＞を愛することが出来るように　しかし今回はそうしなかったのです　それらは諏訪の虚空間状況探知センター内に備えつけられていて　今　一方的にこの会場に向けて発信しつづけているのです　あなたの中に　あなたの中に　あなたのあなたの中に　あなたのあなたのあなたの中に　あなたのあなたのあなたのあなたの中に
　あなたのあなたのあなたのあな

10.7. Matsuzawa Yutaka (1922–2006). *ΨCorpseΨ* (*Pusai no shitai itai*), 1964. Printed matter (flyer) on paper, 39 × 26.6 cm. Collection of Jeff Rothstein and Reiko Tomii. Photograph: Reiko Tomii.

evolved in response to other influences, including several trips to the United States. His first trip, in 1969, took him across the desert between Phoenix and Los Angeles. During that trip he recalls that the vast, empty space opened his mind to the Zen concept of *mu* (nothingness). This confrontation with a space so different from the Japanese landscape to which he was accustomed profoundly affected his worldview and the course of his art. After returning to Japan he took up wood carving, at first meticulously finishing each piece but gradually learning to concentrate on the simple act of carving as "a bodily rather than a verbal kind of meditative 'chanting.'"[45] The incense-like aroma of the wood he uses and his manner of finishing the materials with red and black paint evoke the sacred spaces of Japanese temples and shrines.

Ōkura's process-oriented approach betrays the influence of both Zen and of the conceptual art movement, which itself came under the sway of Zen through the teachings of D. T. Suzuki and his prominent followers, such as the composer John Cage (1912–1992).[46] In fact, Ōkura knew and admired Cage and met him in 1990, during the first of several teaching residencies Ōkura did at the Mountain Lake Workshop in Virginia. He calls one project that has engaged his attention since the 1990s *Hamadryad,* after the Greek nature spirit that inhabits trees. His *Hamadryad Cylinders* of 2004 (plate 39) at once resembles hollow logs and a three-dimensional *ensō,* the Zen circle that symbolizes the emptiness of the enlightened Buddha Mind and that monks frequently brushed on paper. For each piece Ōkura used a single rough-hewn board of aromatic camphor wood that he hacked against the grain, cutting it into strips that he painted red or black. He then glued them back together in approximately the same configuration as in the original, in respect of the natural form of the tree. Then he hand-chiseled their edges to create a rough surface texture not unlike that on Enkū's sculptures (see fig. 6.7).

THE DIVERSITY AND vibrancy of the visual arts inspired by Buddhism during the second half of the twentieth century and continuing unabated into the dawn of the succeeding century that have been introduced here should put to rest any notion that Buddhism has ceased to function as a creative impetus for Japanese culture. Both Buddhism's orthodox practitioners and its more independent advocates remain actively engaged in the commissioning and producing of Buddhist visual arts as objects of devotion and as expressions of personal faith that inspire belief in others. These arts encapsulate the crucial function of art to engage their audiences, changing the way their viewers perceive the world. The vast differences between the types of arts created by these groups underscore the creative force within the faith that allows it to propagate its belief system in

myriad ways, making its tenets relevant to each individual's needs. Institutional Buddhism requires familiar images to spread its teachings to its committed followers. Secular-based artists inspired by Buddhism use the modern language of art to show the uninitiated that Buddhist ideals can offer them hope and inspiration as well, regardless of their personal religious calling. The visual arts have played an essential role in transmitting Buddhism since its inception; their strength and profusion into the early twenty-first century indicate they will continue to do so into the future.

Conclusion

THE PROFOUND metamorphosis of Buddhism and its arts over the past four centuries in Japan has occurred before the backdrop of broad sociopolitical developments that have irrevocably modernized the nation. These developments instigated a power shift from the religious to the secular sphere, facilitating the emergence of a Westernized, secular-based way of life. Despite these changes, as the arts and sites introduced in this book have demonstrated, Japanese people did not abandon their faith in Buddhism. Buddhism's recent material culture belies the notion of a demise of the faith as a cultural force in modern and contemporary Japan. These materials also highlight the fact that although Japanese Buddhism's sites of devotion and the visual expressions of piety by its devotees may have changed in appearance, the faith has continued to attract staunchly devout followers for whom the visual remains central to their expression of devotion. Finally, these arts and architecture demonstrate a close connection between the underlying motivations for religious faith in the early modern period and those of today's followers, helping to explain why so many of the religious practices and deities revered then continue to proliferate today.

No society is static, and as Japanese society changed so did its visual culture, formerly dominated by the aesthetic preferences and religious concerns of the elites. Since the Edo period, the tastes and spiritual concerns of the broader populace have become increasingly important. But significantly, popular culture in general and that associated with Buddhism in particular did not replace that of the upper classes, but came to commingle, bringing new life and greater diversity to established traditions. The widespread acceptance of Ōbaku Zen in the Edo period, the devotion to trans-sectarian deities such as Jizō, the Rakan, and Kannon, and the increasingly elaborate representations of the afterlife in paintings, sculpture, and architectural form exemplify this phenomenon.

As this book has confirmed, the rise of commoner culture in the Edo period and the dominance of Western influence in the Meiji (both intellectual ideas and new technology) profoundly affected the development of Buddhist beliefs, the nature of its institutions, and, concurrently, the appearance of its material culture. These influences render more tenuous its ties to the "golden age" of Japan's Buddhist civilization in the ancient and medieval eras. Buddhism's more recent material culture simply looks too different from what was created before to be evaluated using the traditional models as a standard and using traditional methodologies of analysis. To its detractors, the plurality of influences, from East and West, from high and popular culture, renders the cultural authenticity of modern Buddhist arts questionable.

For this reason, most of these copious materials have been left out of the modern canon of Japanese art and architectural history, or if individual objects and sites have been included because of esteem for their makers or for the site itself, Buddhism is not generally regarded as the principal stimulus to their creation. This oversight derives in large measure from the ways those in power, whether intellectuals or government entities, use material culture to create definitions of cultural identity in the contemporary world. Retaining a sense of cultural uniqueness is essential to counter the elimination of discrepancies among once distinctive cultures due to globalization, an inevitable result of improvements in technology and worldwide communication. Such is the case with the material culture of Buddhism in Japan, where only ancient and medieval Japanese temples and their arts have been hailed, since the late Meiji period, as representative of Japan's great cultural achievements of the *past,* in particular its pan-Asian roots and imperial heritage. Ignored are less prestigious products of commoner beliefs that dominated the Edo period or those that reflected the influence of the nation's more recent efforts at modernization along the Western model.

This break with the past results from internal changes in the practice of Buddhism, most profoundly after persecution in the early Meiji era. But as this book makes clear, changes in the status and practice of Buddhism actually pre-date the Meiji, in response to the implementation of policies towards Buddhism by the Tokugawa rulers. These internal developments significantly contributed to the growing invisibility of Buddhism's more recently produced arts and architecture. Not only did the appearance of the images begin to change, but the nature of their makers changed as well. Since the Edo period, private individuals and not government initiatives drove both laity and clerics, often functioning apart from mainstream organizations, to play a greater role in the production of imagery, the founding of temples, and the creation of spiritually potent places for contemplation, sometimes at temple compounds and sometimes elsewhere.

In ancient and medieval Japan, Buddhist image-makers worked directly for institutions, or, when they created imagery on commission or as private acts of

devotion, their arts would have still been associated with the faith's institutions, whether sold or donated to temples or used in private services. The separation of Buddhism from its institutional base began during the Edo period, when Buddhist temples became sites of secular activities and Buddhist subjects became used as imagery in popular visual culture. It intensified in the Meiji and Taishō periods, when lay practitioners and scholars came to dominate study of the faith, old Buddhist imagery became redefined as art, traditionally trained Buddhist image-makers transformed themselves into modern artists, and artists began creating Buddhist-inspired art for display in new types of secular environments.

In the postwar era, these trends have continued. As the result of an increasing diversity in the appearance of Buddhist art and sites of formal and informal devotion, the faith has lost a clarity of visual identity, but, as this book has revealed, not its power to inspire artistic creativity as a result of deep spiritual commitment to the faith by diverse individuals, both within and beyond its formal institutions. The prominence of these spiritually moving places and images in contemporary Japan reveals that even in today's highly secularized and globalized age dominated by technological and scientific achievements, Buddhism continues to thrive as a beacon of spiritual illumination.

Appendix

Guide To Tokyo-Area Temples Mentioned in This Book

Note: The temples listed below are limited to those within Tokyo or accessible from the city as day trips. This guide provides only general locations/directions using public transportation. Because access routes sometimes change, it is best to verify directions prior to visiting. For temples within the city of Tokyo, I list only the name of the district (*ku*) after the temple's name. For all other temples, I list the city and prefecture in which they are located.

Daienji, Meguro-ku. Meguro station, JR Yamanote line or subway Mita or Tōzai line.

Ekōin, Sumida-ku. Ryōgoku station (west exit), JR Sōbu line.

Fukagawa Fudō Hall (Fukagawa Fudōdō), adjacent to the Tomioka Hachimangū Shrine, Kōtō-ku. Monzen-nakachō station, subway Tōzai or Ōedo lines.

Gokokuji, Bunkyō-ku. Gokokuji station, subway Yūrakuchō line.

Gohyaku Rakanji, Meguro-ku. Two routes: 1) JR line to Meguro station, then thirteen-minute walk; 2) private Tokyū Meguro line to Fudō-mae station, then eight-minute walk.

Gōtokuji, Setagaya-ku. Gōtokuji station. From Shibuya, take private Keiō Inokashira line to Shimo-kitazawa, change to private Odakyū line.

Hasedera, Kamakura, Kanagawa Prefecture. Hase station, Enoden line (originating at Kamakura station, JR Yokosuka line).

Honsenji, Shinagawa-ku (formerly at the start of Tōkaidō Road). Aomono Yokocho station, private Keihin Kyūkō line.

Jōshinji (Kuhon Butsu), Setagaya-ku. Kuhon Butsu station. From Tokyo city center take subway Namboku line through (west) to Ōokayama, then change to private Ōimachi line.

Kan'eiji, Ueno Park (to see pagoda you must enter the zoo). Ueno station, JR line; subway Ginza or Hibiya lines

Kenchōji, Kamakura, Kanagawa Prefecture. Kita-Kamakura or Kamakura station, JR Yokosuka line.

Kitain, Kawagoe, Saitama Prefecture. Kawagoe or Hon-Kawagoe station. Three routes from Tokyo: 1) Private Tōbu Tōjō line from Ikebukuro station, destination: Kawagoe; 2) Private Seibu line from Seibu-Shinjuku, destination: Hon-Kawagoe station; 3) JR Saikyō/Kawagoe line (direct trains via Ōmiya) to Kawagoe station.

Kōganji (Togenuki Jizō temple), Toshima-ku. Sugamo station, JR Yamanote line or subway Mita line.

Kōtokuin (Kamakura Daibutsu), Kamakura, Kanagawa Prefecture. Hase station, private Enoden line (originating at the JR Yokosuka line, Kamakura station).

Naritasan Shinshōji, Narita City, Chiba Prefecture. Narita station, JR or private Keisei lines. Fifteen-minute walk from stations along a street lined with old shops. (Note: the earliest of the surviving Main Halls is located on a small hill to your left at the main intersection where you veer to the right as you head to the temple from the stations.)

Nihonji, Nokogiriyama, Hamakanaya, Chiba Prefecture. Private Keihin Kyūkū line to Keikyū-Kurihama station, then bus or taxi to ferry port bound for Kanaya (ferry takes thirty-five minutes). From there it is a ten-minute walk from Kanaya ferry port to the base of the mountain; a cable car takes visitors to the summit.

Ōfuna Kannonji, Ōfuna, Kamakura City, Kanagawa Prefecture. Ōfuna station, various JR lines.

Reiyūkai, Minato-ku. Kamiyachō station, subway Hibiya line.

Rinnōji and Nikkō Tōshōgū, Nikkō, Tochigi Prefecture. Nikkō station. Two routes: 1) Private Tobu line originating at Asakusa or Shinjuku; 2) JR line to Utsunomiya, then transfer to JR Nikkō line. In both cases the shrine temple complex is a ten-minute bus or taxi ride or thirty-minute walk from station.

Rinsenji, Bunkyō-ku. Myōgadani station, subway Marunouchi line.

Sensōji, Taitō-ku. Asakusa station, subway Ginza or Asakusa lines.

Tsukiji Honganji, Chūō-ku. Tsukiji station, subway Hibiya line.

Yakuōin on Mount Takaō, Saitama Prefecture. Takaōsan-guchi station, private Keiō line (originating at Keiō Shinjuku station).

Zōjōji, Minato-ku. Shibakōen station, subway Mita line.

Zuishōji, Minato-ku. Shirokanedai station (exit 2), subway Namboku line.

Notes

Introduction

1. These deities are too numerous to enumerate here, but among the many different classes of divinities frequently mentioned later in this book are the following: persons who have attained enlightenment (Skt. buddha; Jp. *nyōrai*); beings who have realized enlightenment but selflessly postpone attainment of their goal to help save the living (Skt. bodhisattva; Jp. *bosatsu*); wrathful manifestations of buddhas, known as Bright Kings, who direct their anger at nonbelievers and demons but who offer salvation to those who ask (Skt. *vidyarāja;* Jp. *myōō*); and saintlike ascetic followers of the mortal Buddha who lived in India in the sixth century BCE (Skt. *arhat;* Jp. *rakan*).

2. See Sharf 1995, esp. 134–135.

3. See, e.g., the recent project *Awake: Art, Buddhism, and the Dimensions of Consciousness,* described on the group's Web site, http://artandbuddhism.org (accessed 30 January 2005), and the edited volume of essays that emerged from this project, Baas and Jacob 2004.

4. For an insightful study of this more practical function of the Sōtō Zen sect in the early modern period, see Williams 2005.

5. Scholars cite several dates as the beginning point of this historical era. Historians prefer 1600, when Tokugawa Ieyasu defeated a rival coalition of daimyo at the great battle of Sekigahara, or 1603, when the emperor awarded Ieyasu the title Great Barbarian-quelling Generalissimo (Seii Taishōgun, abbreviated to Shōgun) after rival factions had pledged allegiance to his authority. Art historians generally use the later date of 1615, when Ieyasu finally crushed those loyal to the heirs of Toyotomi Hideyoshi at the siege of Osaka Castle. The period is also known by two interchangeable names: Edo, after the city (now called Tokyo; lit. "Eastern Capital") that Ieyasu named his capital, and Tokugawa, the family name of the fifteen successive generations of shoguns that ruled for the era's duration.

6. On the rise of secular power over the authority of the clergy as the starting point for Western Enlightenment and the values of modernity in the West, see Lee and Ackerman 2002, 6.

7. On the understanding of Confucianism for instilling Chinese ideals in warriors through visual imagery in the Momoyama period, see K. Brown 1997. For the widely held opinion that Confucianism was the dominant ideology of the Tokugawa shoguns from the beginning, see McMullin 1984, 264–283. On the promotion of Confucianism by the fifth shogun, see Bodart-Bailey 2006, esp. 218–229. Bodart-Bailey's study helps put into perspective the motivations for the plentiful body of shogunate- and commoner-sponsored Buddhist materials addressed in this book that concurrently corroborate her claim.

8. Collcutt 1986, 145–146, esp. n. 3.

9. Scholarship that accepts the degradation of Buddhism during the Edo period is reappraised in Watt 1984, 188–191, and more fully in J. Sawada 2002, 39–64, esp. 51–56. For another assessment of why Buddhism of this period is considered corrupt, see LaFleur 1992, chap. 5.

10. On the acceptance of this view, see McMullin 1984, 266–267.

11. See Tsuji 1990; Shibuya Kuritsu Shōtō Bijutsukan 1995; Sakai-shi Hakubutsukan 1997; Tsuji 2000; and Yamashita 2003.

12. Such as Addiss 1978, 1989; Seo and Addiss 1998; Yamashita et al. 2000.

13. Particularly Watsky 2004.

14. See Patricia Fister's provocative look at religious art created from an unorthodox material, 2000, and her bilingual catalogue, 2003.

15. These include sculptures by illustrious monks such as Enkū (1628–1695) and Mokujiki Myōman (1718–1810) and studies on *ōtsue* (folk paintings made at Ōtsu). For recent Western-language studies of these materials, see, e.g., Van Alphen 1999 and McArthur 1999.

16. For a rare reassessment of Edo-period Buddhist art in English, see Singer 1998b.

17. For more on this issue focusing on Western scholarship, see Graham 2002a, 19–20. For a discussion of the emphasis on aesthetics in the study of Japanese Buddhist sculpture, see Bogel 2002.

18. The reader should be aware that the discussion here, on the formation of the Japanese art historical canon, is necessarily highly abbreviated. The complex factors that contributed to its formation are far beyond the scope of this book. But it is important to note that initially there was not one authoritative canon, but several, created by different individuals and groups, including government officials, private collectors, foreign scholars, and Japanese art critics, each with their own agendas, that only sometimes coincided. Furthermore, to illustrate the high level of complexity of this issue, even for one of these canons — the official, government-approved one — the types of arts included changed over time, in accordance with alterations to state policies. Always, though, all of these canons included large numbers of early Japanese Buddhist arts. See Guth 1993, esp. chap. 4, 1996–1997, 1997; Murakado 1999; and S. Tanaka 1999.

19. Rosenfield 1998b, esp. 236–239, and 1998a, 170–172.

20. See Gluck 1998, 265; and S. Tanaka 1999, 52, 55.

21. On the overemphasis of subjective aesthetic values in the study of Japanese Buddhist sculpture, see esp. Bogel 2002, 57. For a general discussion of connoisseurship and the history of taste within the context of present art historical methodologies, see Gaskell 2001.

22. See, e.g., the catalogue of the blockbuster exhibition *Edo: Art in Japan 1615–1868,* at the National Gallery of Art in Washington, DC (Singer 1998a). One of the catalogue writers (Herman Ooms) defined Edo art as a product of a largely urban society, characterized by its variety, sophistication, and high technical quality, viewing art as a status-conferring commodity, largely luxury goods for the wealthy (31). The show and catalogue did include a provocative chapter on religious materials, however. Folk arts (*mingei*), much of it religious subject matter by and for the lower classes and often made from plentiful local materials, have long been regarded as a separate category of Japanese art, displayed in separate, specialized museums. Notably, *mingei* was largely absent from this Edo show.

23. E.g., see Itabashi Kuritsu Bijutsukan 1984; Ōga 1986–1987; and Kyoto-shi Bijutsukan 2005.

24. The most significant publication on religious painting and sculpture of Japan's modern period, Ōga (1986–1987), almost completely excludes works by professionals whose workshops specialize in the production of Buddhist sculpture and painting. Regarding modern and contemporary Buddhist architecture, I know of only one volume in a multivolume survey of buildings completed between 1988 and 1996 that includes various types of religious architecture, including mortuaries and ossuaries (Meisei Shuppan 1997). Most architectural historians emphasize modernist masters and, with few exceptions, exclude from their studies the religious structures designed by these architects.

25. See Keyes, Hardacre, and Kendall 1994, esp. their jointly written introduction.

26. For a theoretical study of selected aspects of modern religious art worldwide, see Lee and Ackerman 2002. See also an assessment of recent studies on spirituality in art in Robertson and McDaniel 2006.

27. E.g., one source defines visual culture as a "history of images" rather than a "history of art" interpreted in a "semiotic notion of representation." See Bryson, Holley, and Moxey 1994, esp. xvi and xviii. In contrast, Nicholas Mirzoeff (1998, chap. 1) associates visual culture exclusively with modernity. On the importance of visual culture to the study of religion, see Morgan and Promey 2001, esp. 124. On material culture studies of Chinese Buddhism, see Kieschnick 2003, esp. the introduction. For an overview of these various viewpoints, see Cherry 2004.

28. On this issue, in relation to Chinese Buddhist material culture, see Kieschnick 2003, 21–22. Other critical studies I found particularly insightful were Freedberg 1989 and Faure 1998.

29. Professor Tamamuro's studies are discussed at length in Ambros and Williams 2001, 212–219. See also Tamamuro 1987.

Chapter 1: Institutional Buddhism under Warrior Rule

1. For a detailed analysis of the rise of these warrior-monks and their temples, see Adolphson 2000.

2. On Shōmu's statue and its significance, see Yiengpruksawan 1998b, 1–2.

3. Bodart-Bailey 2006, 52. On Sūden's residence at the Nanzenji subtemple of Konchiin, which contains a magnificent Zen garden designed by shogunal adviser Kobori Enshū, see Kuitert 2002, 191–196. For a short biography, see Toby 1983 and Tamamuro 1996, 124–125. On Tenkai, see Ooms 1985, 173–186 and Daitō Shuppansha 1991, 352.

4. Exact numbers of Edo-period temples are hard to gauge. McMullin 1984, 246 and 398, nn. 48 and 49, cites the following statistics: in the medieval era (fourteenth through sixteenth centuries), temples nationwide numbered from between 13,000 to 90,000, while in the Edo period, their numbers increased to either 462,000 or 600,000. Another source (Kabanoff 1999, 55) cites land registers of the Kansei era (1799–1801), indicating the existence of 469,934 temples at that time.

5. Ishin Sūden played a large role in this edict and its outcome. See Nosco 1996, 146; Butler 2002, 230–232; and Kuitert 2002, 191–192.

6. See Bodart-Bailey 2006, 206; Ooms 1985, 173; and Coaldrake 1996, 180.

7. The statues represent the buddha Amida and the bodhisattva Kannon (Skt. Avalokiteśvara; Ch. Guanyin) in two manifestations, as the Thousand-Armed Kannon (Jp. Senju Kannon) and the Horse-Headed Kannon (Jp. Batō Kannon).

8. Originally it sat closer to the Tōshōgū complex, but authorities commanded its relocation in 1871 in accordance with government (*shinbutsu bunri*) regulations that separated Shinto and Buddhist institutions, discussed at length in chapter 7.

9. Hidetada's monument is the Taitokuin Reibyō, erected in 1632 alongside the precincts of Zōjōji in Edo. Both it and the Tōshōgū for Ieyasu are discussed at length in Coaldrake 1996, chap. 7. Another mausoleum for Ieyasu at Kan'eiji in Edo was completed by order of Iemitsu in 1651.

10. On the financial plight of the *bakufu* at this time, see Bodart-Bailey 2006, 185–189; and Totman 1993, 125–132.

11. On Kōjō, see Sakai-shi Hakubutsukan 1997, 80, 99. The gilt-wood statue of about four feet in height still survives, but it is a secret image and never photographed. Since the open-

ing of a new Fire Ritual Hall (Gomadō) at Rinnōji, completed in 1988, it has been kept hidden from public view in an alcove of a private worship hall on the second floor of this building. This statue is one of three enshrined there in adjacent niches, all carved by the Seventh Avenue Atelier. From right to left they are the statue of Shaka; Yakushi, commissioned for display at Iemitsu's funeral service and representing Tokugawa Ieyasu reincarnated, who presided over the ritual; and Amida, also created for Iemitsu's funeral to guide him towards his Western Paradise.

12. For illustrations of the other two scrolls, see Nikkōzan Rinnōji Hōmotsuden 2004, pl. 17. One depicts a long procession of monks, courtiers, and samurai heading to the shrine; the other shows the recitation of the Lotus Sutra, as that was the principal sutra of the Tendai sect. Its recitation lasted ten days and was performed by a multitude of monks in Rinnōji's Main Hall.

13. As already discussed in this book's introduction, Beatrice Bodart-Bailey has recently published a revisionist view of the achievements of this shogun; see Bodart-Bailey 2006.

14. On Keishōin and Tsunayoshi's patronage of Buddhism, see Shivley 1970, 89–90, 103–106; Tsukamoto 1998; and Bodart-Bailey 2006.

15. See Foard 1982; Osaka Shiritsu Bijutsukan 1987b; Tanabe and Tanabe 1989; and Watson 1993.

16. On architecture invested with symbolic meaning, created for the third shogun Iemitsu, see Gerhart 1999.

17. Other major projects in Kyoto and its vicinity include the Sutra Repository, Main Gate (both 1619), and the Founder's or Main Hall (1639) at the Jōdo-sect head temple of Chiōn'in; the Main Gate (Sanmon) and subtemple of Konchiin (Ishin Sūden's residence) at the Zen temple of Nanzenji (both ca. 1628); two buildings at the important Shingon-sect temple of Tōji: the Ordination Hall (Kanjōin, 1634) and Five-Story Pagoda (1644), the tallest surviving premodern pagoda in Japan, which was rebuilt following its destruction by fire in 1634; the Main Hall (Konpon Chūdō, 1641) at Enryakuji, the Tendai-sect headquarters at Mount Hiei; the previously discussed reconstruction of the Hōkōji Great Buddha (1664); and the Main Hall of the Jōdo-sect temple of Seiryōji in Kyoto (1701). In Nara, the Tokugawa reconstructed the gigantic Main Hall at the Shingon-sect pilgrimage site of Hasedera (1650) and the Second Month Hall (Nigatsudō, 1669) at Tōdaiji. Many buildings at the Shingon-sect headquarters of Mount Kōya (Kōyasan) in Wakayama Prefecture were also built with Tokugawa support during the seventeenth century, including a Tokugawa family mausoleum, completed in 1643. For other examples of notable temple and shrine buildings of the Edo period, many funded by the *bakufu,* see Okawa 1991, 131–138.

18. Information on the city's development, land area, and population comes from Coaldrake 1981 and H. Watanabe 2001, 25–26. Watanabe provides more conservative estimates on Edo's population than Coaldrake, noting that the population did not surpass one million until the early nineteenth century.

19. For new approaches to Daoist studies in China, see Kohn 2001; J. Miller 2003; and Kirkland 2004.

20. Although *fengshui* is often considered a Daoist practice primarily because one of its main concepts makes use of Daoist belief in the flow of energy forces, some scholars of Chinese Daoism prefer to define it as a "traditional Chinese art" that falls into the spectrum of practices encompassed by the broad term "Daoist arts." Such arts, including breathing meditation and energy movement, could be practiced at formal religious institutions, in more informal group settings, or privately. See J. Miller 2003, 16–17. I am greatly indebted to Noelle Giuffrida for advising me on this issue and Daoist studies in China generally.

21. For a survey of the various influences of Daoism in Japan, see Masuo 2000. On the importance of Daoist rituals at the court in Heian-period Japan, see A. Miller 1971.

22. For a discussion of these screens, formerly in the private collection of the Hayashi family and known among scholars as the "Hayashi Edo screens," see McKelway 2006, 203–209.

23. On the temple's history and its buildings, see Kan'eiji Kyōkabu 1993.

24. Temple brochures date the temple founding to 1678, but a standard Buddhist dictionary recounts the possibility of a different founding date (1665); see Tamamuro 1992, 376.

25. Not all scholars agree with this assessment. Some think they are too good to be amateur products and that Kaseki merely raised the money for their production. See Tsuji 1979, 199, text for pl. 61; and A. Satō 1991, 189.

26. Illustrated in Mason 2005, pl. 183. On the nine grades of Amida statues, see Parent 2001.

27. A festival of similar type had first been held in the thirteenth-century temple of Jōdoji in Ono, Hyogo Prefecture, which the Tōdaiji priest Chōgen (1121–1206) founded in 1192. Records of this temple indicate the festival's continuation into the seventeenth century; see Nara Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan 2006, cat. no. 96.

28. Nishiyama 1997, 80. For an in-depth discussion of this book, see Chiba 2001.

29. Such replicas of famous pilgrimage routes and destinations proliferated from the eighteenth century in large cities during the Edo period. They catered to the era's increasing number of commoner devotees (further discussed in chaps. 2, 3, and 4). See, e.g., a study of the Osaka Thirty-Three Kannon pilgrimage circuit, first recorded in a text in 1678, in Brownstein 2006.

Chapter 2: Buddhist Temples for the Elites

1. For a list of twenty-nine temples designated *monzeki* in the mid-nineteenth century, see www.geocities.co.jp/CollegeLife/6188/monzek/monzeks.html (accessed 10 February 2006). Many *monzeki* were eliminated by the Meiji government, which required that the imperial family abandon Buddhism in favor of Shinto. Recent research on imperial nunneries at the Institute for Medieval Japanese Studies at Columbia University has found that thirteen *monzeki* have survived into the twentieth century; see Fister 2003.

2. The last *monzeki* abbot at Kan'eiji and Rinnōji, Prince Kogen (1847–1895), took the surname of Shirakawa in the Meiji period and became the head of the imperial guards.

3. Einō is best known as the publisher of one of the earliest histories of Japanese painting, *The History of Painting in this Realm* (*Honchō gashi*). See Phillips 1994 and Gerhart 2003, 21.

4. For representative paintings of Japanese temples and shrines by Einō, see Hyōgo Kenritsu Rekishi Hakubutsukan 1999, pl. 4, 7, 8, 10, 51.

5. A picture of Sennyūji of this type, also showing the newly rebuilt main compound, is illustrated in Kasumi Kaikan 2000, 89.

6. Information on these visits comes from personal discussion (in October 2004) with Prof. Ōtsuki Mikio, who shared unpublished references with me.

7. This distance measurement originated in India and has some association with Buddhism. However, the distance it measures has never been standardized, so is impossible to calculate. See Mochizuki and Tsukamoto 1954–1958, 1:737.

8. Keikō refers to Abbot Tenkei, hereafter translated as "Tenkei" in this text.

9. One *zhang* is about 3.3 meters.

10. Kano Tan'yū, the best seventeenth-century painter of the official Kano school (further

discussed in chap. 5). "Hōin" (Eye of the Law) is the highest honorary rank awarded to top official painters. Zenzai Dōji was a devout follower of the Buddha in India who became a bodhisattva.

11. This artist is better known as Guan Xiu (832–912). Rakan (Skt. Arhat) were virtuous followers of the Buddha in India (see chap. 4). These paintings may be the ones that came into the possession of Sennyūji when the temple's founding priest, Shunjō (1166–1227), traveled to China and received them from a Chinese master, as discussed in Faure 1996, 90, who describes them, however, as a set of eighteen. If they are the same set, two must have been destroyed by the time Kōsen saw them, for he clearly notes they were a set of sixteen. Alas, Sennyūji no longer owns them. Nishitani Tsutomu, a curator at the Sennyūji museum, told me in correspondence (25 April 2006) that the temple thinks they were probably removed at the time of Buddhist persecutions during the early Meiji period. He also noted that temple records of Sennyūji's treasures, on loan to a public exhibition at a temple in Nagoya during the late Edo period, indicated they were among possessions displayed there then.

12. Dong Qichang (1555–1636).

13. Renowned Chinese calligraphers Zhong Yao (151–230) and Wang Xizhi (303–379).

14. The text also appears in the woodblock-printed collected writings of Kōsen, published in 1672 (*Kōsen zenshi hōen ryaku shū,* 4:14–16). I thank Ōtsuki Mikio for assistance in locating this printed source and helping to interpret it. Chinese art historian Chang Qing provided a rough English translation, and Joseph Seubert also helped with difficult passages.

15. Baroni (2000, 166) suggests that "the *bakufu*'s interest was predominantly cultural rather than religious, and the emperor's more a matter of personal devotion to the practice of Zen."

16. On Shōan, see Ōtsuki et al. 1988, 182–184. On the building, see Y. Miyata 1975, 275–293.

17. The *manji* is a clockwise swastika symbol that signifies divine quality or good fortune — this symbol is one of the distinguishing marks of buddhahood, found on the breast, hands, feet, and head of the Buddha; see Daitō Shuppansha 1991, 216.

18. For extensive illustrations of the Rakan statues at Gohyaku Rakanji, see Komyunikeshiyon Mentōsu 1972. On the temple's history and enduring popular appeal, see Screech 1993. For an authoritative account of the circumstances surrounding the temple's founding, see biographical information on its founder, Shōun Genkei, in Ōtsuki et al. 1988, 156–157. See also Takahashi 1981.

19. Tetsugen was later celebrated as one of Japan's illustrious eccentrics and included in the popular compilation of such persons. See Ban and Mikuma 1972, 53–55. For an English-language biography, see Baroni 2000, 82–83.

20. Among his other extant statues are three buddhas for another Edo temple, Gōtokuji, completed in 1677 (see Tsuji 1990, 144–145), and the main Buddha images at the Sendai Ōbaku temple of Dainenji, completed in 1691 (see Sendai-shi Hakubutsukan 2003, pl. 47).

21. This temple is cited in De Visser 1923, 52–57, where it is described as being located in Atoda Village of the former Buzen Province, with stone images erected by a Chinese priest, Kenjun (Ch. Kienshun), in 1360. It was apparently modeled after the famous Mount Tiantai in China, legendary home to the Five Hundred Rakan, who dwelt there beyond a dangerous rock bridge that only "pure monks" could safely cross; see Faure 1996, 91–92, and 94, n. 34). The present assemblage of five hundred stone Rakan statues at Rakanji date to 1776. Since 1600 the temple has been affiliated with the Sōtō Zen sect. See also Tamamuro 1992, 894.

22. For biographic information on Egoku Dōmyō, see Baroni 2000, 79–80; and Ōtsuki et al. 1988, 36–38.

23. Shōun's biography in Ōtsuki et al. 1988, 156–157, states that the set was completed in 1695. Private correspondence from Mr. Saitō to conservator Suzanna Shaw of the National

Gallery of Australia (24 August 2000) mentions an early text that says Shōun completed the statues only in 1700. I am indebted to Ms. Shaw for access to this correspondence. All surviving documents that describe the making of these statues postdate Shōun's time, so none can be considered authoritative.

24. For English-language publications of some of these statues, see Lee 1947 and Jenkins 1976, pl. 49.

25. However, several clans with close familial ties to the Tokugawa family enacted anti-Buddhist policies in the 1660s and did not support Buddhism, even requiring citizens to register at Shinto shrines instead of temples (Ooms 1985, 192).

26. This issue is a point of contention among early modern historians; see P. Brown 2003, 20; and Toby 2001.

27. The most famous of these was Myōryūji, a Nichiren-sect temple popularly known as Ninjadera (the Ninja, or Military Spy, Temple), which he built in 1643 as his family's private site of worship.

28. For another temple with a history of religious plurality that also converted to Shingon at this time, see Sherry Fowler's study of Murōji (2006).

29. Toshitada and his father constructed the most celebrated of all Japanese architectural and garden monuments, the Katsura Imperial Villa, in Arashiyama outside Kyoto, which was expanded the same year Toshitada married the Maeda daimyo's daughter, presumably with funding from her father; see Fujioka 1983, 38.

30. On Shugendō and shamanism in Japan, see Blacker 1975 and Miyake 2001.

31. The first syllable, *nata,* came from Mount Nachi, the location of temple number 1 on the Kannon pilgrimage route; the second syllable, *ta,* was derived from the name of the mountain, Mount Tanigumi, the location of the last temple, number 33.

32. Miyake 2001, 32.

33. Information on this temple comes from Ōtsuki 1985, 312–318, and captions for pl. 384–457; and Takamatsu Shiritsu Shiryōkan 1992.

34. These are designated as Important Cultural Properties and are illustrated in Okawa 1991, 133, fig. 68.

35. Published in Shinpen Hirosaki Shishi Hensan Iinkai 1998, 184–199.

36. On the dating of the Gohyaku Rakanji structure, see Screech 1993, 417–424; and Smith and Poster 1986, pl. 66 caption.

37. For a slightly earlier, more elaborate structure of this type dated 1796 in the northern Japan castle town of Aizu Wakamatsu, see www.cs.ucla.edu/~jmg/saz98 (accessed 13 February 2006). This building is illustrated in Tsuji 2005, 338. Information on the Rokkadō comes from a leaflet distributed by Ranteiin, the temple that now manages it, and from Aomori-ken Kyōiku Iinkai 1991, 2:84.

Chapter 3. Temples for Commoners

1. For estimates of the numbers of Edo-period temples, see McMullin 1984, 246 and 398, nn. 48, 49).

2. For historical facts, see www.vill.taira.toyama.jp/cultural/cult_03.html (accessed 17 March 2004). For a short overview of the village, see Young and Young 2004, 84–87.

3. See Blacker 1984; Vaporis 1994; Reader and Swanson 1997; Reader 1996; Formanek 1998.

4. For studies comparing the Saikoku and Shikoku circuits, see Readicker-Henderson 1995 and Hoshino 1997. On the Shikoku pilgrimage, see Kagawa-ken Bunka Kaikan 1988; Mainichi Shinbunsha 2002; and Reader 2005. Ian Reader notes, by the way, that the reasons

for fixing the Shikoku pilgrimage route at eighty-eight sites remain a mystery; see Reader 2005, 277–278.

5. Popular stories of the time, such as *Hizakurige* (Shank's mare) by Jippensha Ikku (1765–1831), however, reveal that although travel along the routes was pleasurable, it still had its perils; see Jippensha Ikku 1960. Also, local overlords sometimes ordered their subjects not to offer alms to freeloading, impoverished pilgrims who begged for lodging and provisions along their way; see Reader 2005, 122–126.

6. On guidebooks, see Nagoya-shi Hakubutsukan 1988; and Ikeda et al. 1979–1988.

7. The nonstandard number of sites on the Chichibu route (thirty-four), was conceived simply so that this route, traversed together with the the Saikoku and Bandō routes, would add up to an even one hundred.

8. Selected illustrations in Shibuya Kuritsu Shōtō Bijutsukan 1999, 13–17. All are in the online database of the International Research Center for Japanese Studies, Kyoto: www.nichibun.ac.jp/graphicversion/dbase/reikenki/index.html (accessed 2 February 2006).

9. On the meaning of *hibutsu,* see Rambelli 2002.

10. On Zenkōji's displays in Edo and the general restrictions the government placed on them, see Ambros 2004.

11. On Ōyama, see Ambros 2001.

12. For a lively account of commoner temples in Edo, see Nishiyama 1997, chap. 5.

13. The only surviving Edo buildings are an eastern side gate (erected in 1618) and its affiliate Sanja Gongen Shinto shrine (erected in 1649).

14. On Sensōji's exhibitions and the meaning and importance of this phenomenon in general, see Hur 2000, 80–81, 212–213, 217–219.

15. On *degaichō* at Ekōin, see Ambros 2004; and Hiruma 1980, 45–48.

16. The bronze caster came from Ōmi (near Kyoto), but came to Edo to serve the shogunate in making mostly temple bells, including one for Sensōji. See Rittō Rekishi Minzoku Hakubutsukan 2002, 30.

17. The Myōō are wrathful manifestations of the five most important buddhas in esoteric Buddhism. Among these kings, Fudo Myōō occupies the central position as the manifestation of Dainichi. For dates of the temple's *degaichō* in Edo, see Shinshōji 1968, 208–209; and Hiruma 1980, 150–151.

18. The Japanese government has designated this statue as an Important Cultural Property; for an illustration, see Mainichi Shinbunsha 1973, 103, pl. 483. The original statue now resides at Nan'in at the Shingon-sect headquarters site of Mount Kōya. For more on this incident, see Mack n.d.

19. For an illustration of the *maedachi* statue, see Naritasan Shinshōji 1984, 36, pl. 32.

20. This section on Naritasan Shinshōji is an abbreviated adaptation of a longer article I wrote about popular patronage at the temple; see Graham 2004.

21. For information on Ieyasu and daimyo support for Naritasan Shinshōji, see Shinshōji 1968, 494–495.

22. This information comes from the writings of Ichikawa Danjūrō II. See excerpted translations in Kominz 1997, 35–36, and 267, n. 3.

23. Some accounts of Danjūrō I indicate that he believed himself a "living embodiment" of Fudō Myōō, but he more likely considered himself simply a devoted follower of the deity, and the "living embodiment" assertion likely stems from a misinterpretation of records describing viewers' impressions that they saw the deity come to life when watching him perform. For such a comment, see Clark et al. 1994, 162. On Danjūrō's faith in Buddhism, see Kominz 1997, 61–64.

24. See discussion of patronage by Ichikawa Danjūrō V (1741–1806) in Kominz (1993, 73). See also prints of Danjūrō V as Fudō Myōō in Clark et al. 1994, pl. 55, 56.

25. For a variety of Kanto and central Honshu religious structures with this type of brightly colored, deep-cut decoration, see Tabata et al. 1994.

26. The side-by-side images of Daoist and Confucian sages at Naritasan Shinshōji and elsewhere reflect the nature of later Chinese Confucian ideology that was transmitted to Japan and that incorporated aspects of Daoist beliefs.

27. The *tripitaka* (Jp: *sanzō*) — lit. "three baskets," or in this case three groups of collected writings about Buddhism — includes sutras (texts expounding the teachings of the buddhas), *vinayana*s (Buddha's commandments), and *śāstra*s (commentaries on Buddhist doctrines). See Daitō Shuppansha 1991, 288.

28. The throngs of spectators jostling with one another at these openings have been represented by the ukiyoe printmakers Utagawa Toyokuni (1769–1825) and Utagawa Kunisato (d. 1885). These are illustrated in Shinshōji 1968, pl. 3, 4; preceding p. 199.

29. For information on these treasures, see Shinshōji 1968, 211–225. Many of its famous votive tablets, by illustrious artists of Edo, are illustrated in Ōno and Ogura 1979.

30. For materials related to the carvings by Ryōzan, see Kawai 1983, figs. 31–48.

31. This arrangement is visible in a picture of the temple in the 1858 *Illustrated Guidebook to Narita, Record of a Pilgrimage to Narita* (*Narita meisho zue, Narita sankei ki*), by Hasegawa Settei (1819–1882), son of Settan, reproduced in Suzuki and Ikeda 1980, 331; and Graham 2004, 23.

Chapter 4. Depictions of Popular Deities and Spiritual Concerns

1. This is the prevailing theme of two recent books on Edo art, Guth 1996a and Singer 1998a.

2. For a detailed study of faddish deities, see Miyata 1972. They are also briefly discussed in Nishiyama 1997, 90–91; and Kominz 1997, 42–43.

3. The most famous site of this type is Mount Osore (Osorezan) in northern Japan. See Ivy 1995, chap. 5; and Miyazaki and Williams 2001. On the growing practice of abortion and concomitant devotion to Jizō in the Edo period, see LaFleur 1992, chaps. 5–7.

4. Information on Shingan comes from a pamphlet of an exhibition of his paintings at the Kanazawa Prefectural Art Museum (Kanazawa Kenritsu Bijutsukan 1989) and from a personal interview with the head priest at Daienji in October 2003. The temple maintains a small gallery for his paintings.

5. Although rare, other examples of this practice are known from Japan and will be discussed later in this book. In chapter 5, see the discussion of Daitsū Bunchi, Gomizunoo's eldest daughter. See also Buddha statues made from cremated remains in the Meiji period, discussed and illustrated in chapter 7 (fig. 7.7).

6. For images of these, see the Web site "Six Jizoes in Edo": http://homepage3.nifty. com/matsan/HPjizo/jz-eo.html (accessed 1 October 2004).

7. On *arhat*s in Chinese and Japanese art, with extensive discussion on their textual bases, see De Visser 1923 and shorter critiques by Faure 1991, 266–272; and 1996, 88–96. On the history of their veneration in China, see Kent 1994. For a recent Japanese exhibition catalogue on important Rakan imagery in Japanese collections, see Shiga Kenritsu Biwako Bunkakan 1994.

8. Mujaku 1963, 15; and discussed in Shiga Kenritsu Biwako Bunkakan 1994, 146; text for pl. 51. On Gakkai Chōja's conversion to Buddhism and the legend explaining his role in

creating the Zenkōji Amida triad, see McCallum 1994, 46–47. On Zenzai Dōji, see Fontein 1967. Among the Rinzai Zen temple gates in Japan that contain the iconographic program Mujaku described are those at Tōfukuji (ca. 1425) and Nanzenji (ca. 1628). On the association of the transcendent Shaka with Zen temples ever since the fourteenth century, see Tokyo Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan 2003b, xxiii.

9. As discussed in Levine 2005, 293. See also translation of selected Edo-period tales of Ikkyū, including some about the Five Hundred Rakan, published in a compilation dated 1668, in Sanford 1981, 266–268.

10. The story is mentioned in Singer 1998b, 21, and translated in Iharu 1963, 203–208.

11. Kent 1995, 152–164. For an introductory survey of later Luohan images in China, see Stevens 2001.

12. For his biography, see Ōtsuki et al. 1988, 314–315. For other sculptures by Han Dōsei at Manpukuji, see Fuji et al. 1977, pl. 28–29, 31–36). He also sculpted a set of Eighteen Rakan for the Main Hall of Sōfukuji in Nagasaki (see fig. 2.4); see Y. Miyata 1975, 305–306.

13. This is the Sōtō Zen-sect temple of Nihonji atop Mount Nokogiri (Nokogiriyama) in Hamakanaya, Chiba Prefecture, overlooking Tokyo Bay with carvings by a master stone sculptor and his twenty-seven apprentices dating to the 1780s and 1790s, as conceived by the head priest of the temple at that time (Nihon Sekibutsu Kyōkai 1999, 117).

14. See chap. 6 for other examples of Edo-period Five Hundred Rakan paintings by Ike Taiga and Katō Nobukiyo, and a stone set by Itō Jakuchū.

15. The production of these paintings and their appreciation in Japan are meticulously documented in Kawai 1983. For excellent photos of a selected group of these, see Yamashita 2004, 153–160. Another set by him of fifty scrolls is owned by the Tokyo National Museum; see Tokyo Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan 2006a.

16. The most famous set of Japanese pictures of the Five Hundred Rakan, thought to be based on a lost Chinese prototype, is by the Tōfukuji monk Minchō. See Yamaguchi Kenritsu Bijutsukan 1998, 165–169, with images of Rakan hovering on clouds above hungry ghosts (or possibly beggars) banished to an unearthly, torturous realm after their death. This same set is also illustrated in Mainichi Shinbunsha 1973, pl. 159.

17. A. Satō 1991, 193, gives his dates as 1810–1858. Moss 1998, 80, cites these and alternate dates. For other Buddhist statues by him, see Satō 1991, 193.

18. For discussion of this commission and a selection of these sculptures, see Tokyo Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan 2003b, 239, and pl. 159.

19. On the creation of the group and their appreciation in contemporary Japan, see Reader and Tanabe 1998, 156–163.

20. On narrative tales, see Komatsu 1998, 20–30. For a general overview of Shichifukujin in the Muromachi period and information on specific deities mentioned in different texts, see Kida 1976, 74–95.

21. For biographical information on Gizan, see Imaizumi 1999, 184–185.

22. Shōjō seems only to have joined the group briefly during the Genroku era, just when this book was published; see Kida 1976, 91.

23. The popularity and importance of this 1783 edition is attested to by its numerous reprintings through the late Meiji period. It is also available in a modern facsimile edition (Kino Shūshin 1972).

24. Rawson 1992, 126. For a representative selection of Chinese folk prints, mostly modern printings from late Qing dynasty blocks, see Bo and Johnson 1992. For additional illustrations and discussion of their relationship with the Japanese Seven Gods, see Ehrich 1991.

25. Saitō 1977, 159. For an English translation of the passage that describes the seven misfortunes and blessings, see Reader and Tanabe 1998, 161. For a disputation of this leg-

endary origin of the group, see Kida 1976, 78–79. Frédéric 1995, 238–239; and Gerhart 1999, 76, quote standard Japanese sources stating that Tenkai invented the grouping. Curators of Rinnōji's treasure house museum and the temple's priests know the anecdote and have searched temple records for verification of the story but have found no documentation of this claim (based on personal conversations during a visit to Rinnōji in October 2004).

26. Saitō 1977, 159. For a representative painting of this early type featuring early favorites among the group — Ebisu, Daikoku, Hotei, and Jūrōjin — by Iwasa Matabei (1578–1650), see Chiba-shi Bijutsukan 2004, pl. 29, far right screen panel.

27. Known paintings by Tan'yū show only five of them together; see Yasumura 1990, 63.

28. E.g., see a late fifteenth- or early sixteenth-century Chinese painting of *Eight Daoist Immortals* in a recent Nezu Institute of Arts exhibition; Nezu Bijutsukan 2005, pl. 15.

29. See a handscroll by Kano Tsunenobu 1636–1713, Tan'yū's nephew and pupil, published in Yamatane 1989, pl. 20, copied by his second son and pupil, Kano Minenobu (1663–1709), published in Itabashi Kuritsu Bijutsukan 1990, pl. 21.

30. For other ukiyoe prints of the Seven Gods, see Shibuya Kuritsu Shōtō Bijutsukan 1999, 87–98.

31. On Shōki in Edo-period popular art, see Welch 1985.

32. On various Edo- and Meiji-period images of these Ten Worlds, see Shibuya Kuritsu Shōtō Bijutsukan 1995, pl. 20–22; Yokkaichi Shiritsu Hakubutsukan 2001; Itabashi Kuritsu Bijutsukan 2001; Kokuritsu Rekishi Minzoku Hakubutsukan 2001a; Kokuritsu Rekishi Minzoku Hakubutsukan 2001b; and Nagano Shiritsu Hakubutsukan 2003. On the function of these paintings, see Akai 1990. On the importance of these subjects in earlier Japanese Buddhism, see Ruch 1992 and LaFleur 1983, 26–59.

33. For Pure Land paintings of these worlds and derivations from them, see Okazaki 1977. For a Shingon vision of the Pure Land, see Kōyasan Reikōkan Museum 2002, cat. no. 11.

34. *Etoki* had first been employed by clerics at major temples as a method of gaining converts and teaching the fundamentals of Buddhism in the tenth century. By the thirteenth century, itinerant missionary monks, mainly of the Pure Land sects, began to use *etoki* to reach commoners throughout the country; see Kaminishi 2006, 19; Hagiwara 1983.

35. Published in Kokuritsu Rekishi Minzoku Hakubutsukan 2001a, 29. For a similar Kumano Mandala, see ten Grotenhuis 1999, pl. 18.

36. Information about these nuns comes from Ruch 2002b and Kaminishi 2006, 137–164.

37. See, e.g., the woodblock-printed *Diagram of the Ten Worlds* in the British Museum collection dated 1669; in Zwalf 1985, pl. 406.

38. These are described and illustrated in detail in Ruch 2002b, 567–573. This particular mandala is also the subject of a documentary movie, *Preaching from Pictures* (2003). For several other published examples, see Kokuritsu Rekishi Minzoku Hakubutsukan 2001a, 26–28.

39. Among these is the Jizō cult centers of Mount Osore and Mount Tate (Tateyama), which also begat a type of mandala painting used in the religious instruction of women. For information in English on Tateyama mandalas, see Formanek 1998; Seidel 1992–1993; and Kaminishi 2006, 165–192. For illustrations, see Kokuritsu Rekishi Minzoku Hakubutsukan 2001b, 82–91. The Blood Pool Sutra was probably introduced to Japan from China in the fourteenth or fifteenth century, as discussed in Kaminishi 2006, 187.

40. For a study of early Japanese pictures of the Ten Kings, see Phillips 2003.

41. For Ten Kings paintings for commoners, see, e.g., Shibuya Kuritsu Shōtō Bijutsukan 1995, pl. 20 and 21.

42. On humor in Edo art, see Tsuji 1986, 61–86. For humorous paintings of *oni,* see Addiss

1985, pl. 35, 38, and 40. For late Edo- and Meiji-era prints of *oni* presiding over the Wheel of the Five Realms of Transmigration, see Kokuritsu Rekishi Minzoku Hakubutsukan 2001a, pl. 16; and Yokkaichi Shiritsu Hakubutsukan 2001, pl. 44. On a Tendai monk from Mount Hiei who reappeared after death as an *oni* to fulfill a vow to protect his temple, see Wolfgram 1985, 94–95.

43. On *ema* in the Edo period, see Tsuji 1990, 298–316; and Hauge and Hauge 2004. On *ema* in religious practice in Japan today, see Reader and Tanabe 1998.

44. See Williams 2000, 143–144, for discussion and illustration of its Edo-period talisman; and Williams 2005, 102–112 on the temple generally.

45. For recent exhibition catalogues in English on *ōtsue,* see McArthur 1999 and Welch 1994.

46. McArthur 1999, 30; and Welch 1994, 41. For English translations of inscriptions on some *oni* paintings, see McArthur 1999, 87.

47. On Shingaku and its founder, Ishida Baigan, see Robert Bellah's somewhat dated but still useful study (1957, 133–216), and Najita (1987, 77–78, 95–98). On Shingaku ideals in *ōtsue,* see McArthur 1999, 21–22, 33; and Rosenfield 1999, 2:371–373.

48. As translated in Ogyu 2005, 121. For other versions of this poem, see McArthur 1999, 89.

Chapter 5. Professional Icon-Makers

1. On early *busshi* lineages, see Washizuka 1997 and Yiengpruksawan 1998b, 24.

2. On the Seventh Avenue Atelier in the Edo period, see Miyama 1996; on them in the medieval era, see Nedachi (2006).

3. McCallum 1996, 127; and Miyama 1984, 192–193, who quotes the foremost Meiji-period sculptor, Takamura Kōun (further discussed in chap. 7).

4. On Kyoto *busshi* at Manpukuji, see Chō 1998, 26. For examples of Kyoto *busshi* imagery at Manpukuji, see Fujii et al. 1977, 27, 30.

5. Ryūkei was also famous for his small-scale ensemble sculptures of townspeople. See Singer 1998a, 439–440 [cat. 243]. Three subsequent generations of artists also used this name; see Sakai-shi Hakubutsukan 1997, 105–106.

6. On the collaboration between Ryūkei and Tankai and additional photos of this statue, see Sakai-shi Hakubutsukan 1997, 30–31; see 104–105 for Tankai's biography. A Yakushi Buddha, probably erroneously ascribed to Tankai himself and commissioned by the monk Kōkei (1648–1705) for Tōdaiji in Nara, is illustrated in Mino et al. 1986, 104–105, pl. 26. For another Fudō Myōō by Ryūkei (at the Nara temple Genkōji), see Nara Kenritsu Bijutsukan 1991, pl. 25. For a sketch of Fudō Myōō by Tankai owned by the Nara temple Chōkōji, see Nara Kenritsu Bijutsukan 1991, pl. 26.

7. For surveys of Edo-period Buddhist sculptors, see Tsuji 1979, 144–151; A. Satō 1991; Sakai-shi Hakubutsukan 1997; Chō 1999; and Hase 2001. Note: authors Chō Yōichi and Hase Yōichi are the same person; he also authored Sakai-shi Hakubutsukan 1997. On sculpture in Edo, see Kuno 1994. On sculptors patronized by the *bakufu,* see Miyama 1996.

8. Shinpen Hirosaki Shishi Hensan Iinkai 1998, 81. I thank Sudō Hirotoshi for guiding my visit to Hirosaki temples and sharing his voluminous research with me. In contrast to this elegant statue that verifies the influence of Kyoto ateliers in Hirosaki, see Aomori-ken Bunkazai Kankōbu 2006 for Buddhist sculpture of rural Aomori Prefecture produced mostly by local artisans, the itinerant monk-sculptor Enkū (see chap. 6), and his followers.

9. Basic information on this project and the sculptors involved is found in Sakai-shi Hakubutsukan 1997, 89; and A. Satō 1991, 188–189. For a more thorough examination, see

Nara Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan 2005b. The final statues carved for the building's interior were a set of four guardian kings. Unfortunately, the last two were never finished. Only their heads were completed before financial constraints curtailed their production (Nara Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan 2005b, 162, and pl. 99–100). These heads sit on display in the back of the building today.

10. The statue had been seriously damaged in the civil wars of the late sixteenth century, and some repairs, but not replacement of the ruined head, had been undertaken then; see Yiengpruksawan 1996, 496. See Coaldrake 1986 for information on the seventeenth-century building restoration project.

11. On the origin of the Tsubai Minbu lineage, whose members came from prestigious ateliers in both Nara and Kyoto, see Sakai-shi Hakubutsukan 1997, 89; and A. Satō 1991, 188.

12. See his biography in Sakai-shi Hakubutsukan 1997, 109.

13. The Ganku portrait, at Shinjōin in Kyoto, is published in Chō 1999, 101.

14. On the Tōji sculptures, see Tōji Hōmotsukan 1994, 71, and caption for pl. 2; and Kyōō Gokokuji 1996, 144. The central buddha, Dainichi, dates to the Muromachi period.

15. On the history of *ebusshi,* see Rosenfield and ten Grotenhuis 1979, 18; Stanley-Baker 2005; Waterhouse 2005; and Parent 2001, secs. on *edokoro* and *ebusshi*. On *ebusshi* in the Muromachi period, see Wheelwright 1985, 81, 89.

16. The names of successive generations of artists using the name Ryōtaku through the 1840s are recorded in the genealogical compendium *Record of Lineages* (*Jige kaden*), published in 1854; see Mikami 1854, 408. For illustrations of paintings by artists of this lineage in old daimyo collections, see Fukuoka-shi Bijutsukan 2004 and Sendai-shi Hakubutsukan 2003.

17. The document verifies that a painter, Tosa Sakyō Ryōgen Masahisa, was the same person as painter Kimura Shingorō; see Fukuoka-shi Bijutsukan 2004, 46.

18. Scholars assume the two groups collaborated regularly, based on the relative proximity of their respective studios in Kyoto; see Fukuoka-shi Bijutsukan 2004, 46. For one important collaboration at the Main Hall at Tōji in 1598, see Tōji Hōmotsukan 1998, 62–63.

19. *Habutae* is the name of a particular type of fine quality, lightweight Kyoto silk. It lent its name to this guidebook, which enumerated prominent Kyoto businesses, religious institutions, and people of the city.

20. Fukuoka-shi Bijutsukan 2004, 45; and Yuasa 1914–1917, 210. The names Tokuetsu and Sakyō are also found together on Buddhist paintings at Zōjōji in Edo and at Tōji in Kyoto. Because Kimura-school artists signed their works with varying names, the relationship between known artists and these sublineages is difficult to clarify; see Fukuoka-shi Bijutsukan 2004, 44–49.

21. See Sendai-shi Hakubutsukan 2003, pl. 95; and Fukuoka-shi Bijutsukan 2004, pl. 11.

22. Sadatsuna was so famous for his Ōbaku portraits that one he brushed of Ōbaku Kōsen was mentioned in the standard dictionary of Japanese painters, *Kōga biko;* see Asaoka 1983, 2:995, compiled by Asaoka Okisada (1800–1856) around 1850 and first published in 1904.

23. Another version of *Death of the Buddha* by Sadatsuna lacks the additional scenes seen here, but these three supplementary episodes appear in a pair of stylistically similar scrolls by him portraying eight scenes from the life of the Buddha; see Fukuoka-shi Bijutsukan 2004, pl. 10 and 11.

24. For examples of later-generation Kimura Ryōtaku paintings at Nikkō, see Tochigi Kenritsu Hakubutsukan 1996.

25. The exact date of this commission is speculative, but probably slightly predated Ingen's arrival; see Ōtsuki 2000, 211.

26. Ryōkei's records and many paintings for the temple done by Yasunobu and other Kano artists, some bearing inscriptions by Ingen, were all transferred to the nearby Ōbaku temple of Keizuiji shortly after Ryōkei's death; see Ōtsuki 2000.

27. For Itsunen's Shaka, see Graham 1991, pl. 10; for the whole triptych, see Kobe Shiritsu Hakubutsukan 1991, pl. 46. For Tan'yū's triptych, see Kobe Shiritsu Hakubutsukan 1991, pl. 99; or Fuji et al. 1997, pl. 43.

28. For discussion of the training methods in the Kano school, see Jordan 2003. On the derogatory attitude of Kano artists by later scholars, see Gerhart 2003, 25.

29. See also Kano Buddhist paintings in Itabashi Kuritsu Bijutsukan 2001, pl. 2–3. Recent studies have begun to reappraise the school in general; see Kyoto Bunka Hakubutsukan 2004; Yamashita 2004; and Sasaki 2006.

30. For Sansetsu's paintings, see Kyoto Bunka Hakubutsukan 1998, 274 and pl. 0-1. For three scrolls from Takuhō Dōshū's set, see Kobe Shiritsu Hakubutsukan 1991, pl. 110. For three scrolls from Zaichū's set, see Kyoto Furitsu Sōgō Shiryōkan 1976, pl. 16.

31. For illustrations of the complete Hōnenji set, see Namikawa et al. 1985, 452–459; or Takamatsu Shiritsu Shiryōkan 1992, pl. 448–460. Information on the painting and its dating come from these sources.

32. One is owned by Gokokuji, the Edo temple founded by Tokugawa Tsunayoshi. See two from this set in Tajima 1899–1908, vol. 7.

33. For an illustration of the same scene in Minchō's set, see Yamaguchi Kenritsu Bijutsukan 1998, 37, fig. 9-25.

34. For general introduction to *nanga,* see Graham 1990 or Addiss 2002.

35. For his biography, see Rosenfield 1999, 3:23. On the social status of *nanga* painters of Taizan's generation, see Graham 2002b.

36. For an illustration of the original Shaka, see Graham 1991, pl. 23; for the triptych, see Yamane 1983, pl. 10–12.

37. Sosen was uncle and later adopted father to painter Mori Tessan (father to *busshi* Tanaka Kōkyō). For a reproduction of his Shaka, see Graham 1991, pl. 22.

38. For a similar painting by Kano Tsunenobu, see Ōtsuki 2000, pl. 21.

39. For a recent exhibition catalogue on Buddhist subjects in ukiyoe, see Shibuya Kuritsu Shōtō Bijutsukan 1999.

40. For a devout religious image of Jizō by Moronobu, see Clark 1992, pl. 7. For an abridged version that he did of book illustrations from the Kannon Sutra, see Chiba-shi Bijutsukan 2000, pl. 100.

41. The print is published and described as a *mitate* (parody picture) in Chiba-shi Bijutsukan 2000, pl. 98.

42. National Learning (Kokugaku) scholars helped spread this interest in Heian court culture. See Lillehoj 2004 on the revival of interest in aristocratic art styles during the seventeenth century.

43. See the 1792 *Catalogue of Treasures Inspected at Temples and Shrines* (*Jisha hōmotsu tenetsu mokuroku*), in Kokusho Kankōkai (1906–1909, 16:158–216); and the *Ten Categories of Assembled Antiquities* (*Shukō jisshu*), published in 1800, in Kokusho Kankōkai 1908.

44. It included biographies and illustrations of ancient heroes from the dawn of Japan's history through the mid-fourteenth century, reproduced photographically at http://ddb.libnet.kulib.kyoto-u.ac.jp/exhibit/0069/image/47/0069s415.html (accessed 24 March 2005).

45. The history, meaning, and audience for this subject has attracted recent scholarly interest; see Chin 1998 and Kanda 2005.

46. For an illustration of the inscription, see D. Satō 1993, pl. 86.

47. For other Buddhist paintings by Tamechika, see Okazaki-shi Bijutsu Hakubutsukan 2001, pl. 36–39.

48. This Tendai picture is the Sannō Treasure Pagoda Mandala (Sannō Hōtō Mandara); see Kageyama 1973, 111, fig. 116. The Sannō shrine is dedicated to the tutelary Shinto deity of Mount Hiei, the location of the Tendai sect headquarters of Enryakuji.

Chapter 6. Expressions of Faith

1. For a short biography of him, see Rinnōji 1967, 74–75.

2. For a short biography and his elegant copy of the Lotus Sutra, see Nikkōzan Rinnōji Hōmotsuden 2004, pl. 31. For a painting by him of Amida, see Tōchigi Kenritsu Hakubutsukan 1998, pl. 43.

3. Fister 2000, 2001, and 2003. For other studies, see Kasumi Kaikan 1992 and Graybill and Ohki 1998.

4. On Daitsū, see Fister 2000; and 2003, 23, and pl. 11 and 17.

5. Addiss 1989, 94–99; Fister 1994, pl. 71; Ruch 2002a; Fister 2003, 26–27, 81.

6. One of these *zushi* is now owned by the Metropolitan Museum of Art; see Ford 1987, 48, pl. 54.

7. Lillehoj 1996b, 33. On the iconography of this deity, see Yü 1984, 166–169.

8. For more detailed information about this donation, see Fister 2005, 583–585; and n.d. This is the same temple whose main gate was reconstructed in 1802 and for which an impressive set of sixteen Rakan was carved (see fig. 4.3). On this image, see Rittō Rekishi Minzoku Hakubutsukan 2003, pl. 74. For another example of a Buddhist embroidery depicting the death of the Buddha incorporating the donor's hair, see a large silk embroidery by a professional artisan that Tenshin'in, a Matsudaira clan Kii daimyo wife, donated to Hōyōji in Edo in 1663. Her hair was used for the snail-shell curls on the Buddha's head; see Tokyo Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan 2003a, 245 [pl. 110].

9. For two other published works by Jishōin, see Tokyo Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan 2003a, pl. 113 and 114.

10. The temple was officially named for her: Jishōzan Kokuzenji (Kokuzenji of Mount Jishō). The second character (*zen*) is an alternate reading for Mae, the first character of her maiden name (Maeda). On the temple, see Chūgoku Shinbunsha, Hiroshima-ken Dai Hyakka Jiten Kankō Iinkai Jimukyoku 1982, vol. 1.

11. Information based on a discussion with the temple's head priest in 2004.

12. For discussion of this set, see Asaoka 1983, 1172–1175; Suzuki 1989; and Murase 2000, 274–275. For others from this set by Nobukiyo, see Suzuki 1989; and Shibuya Kuritsu Shōtō Bijutsukan 1995, pl. 30–34.

13. For two scrolls from Minchō's set, see Yamaguchi Kenritsu Bijutsukan 1998, pl. 8. For the whole set, see Mainichi Shinbunsha 1973, 92.

14. His Kano-style bird-and-flower, bamboo, and tree paintings earned him fame later, although these paintings were his most celebrated of all; see Asaoka 1983, 2:1173.

15. The twelfth-century painting formed with characters from the Golden Light Sutra (Konkōmyōō saishōōkyō) is owned by Chūsonji and depicts a pagoda. It is discussed at length in Yiengpruksawan 1998a, 166–177. Tan'yū's under-drawing is for a picture of the bodhisattva Kannon painted by a monk named Sōzen, with characters from the Lotus Sutra (although Tan'yū also delineated the facial features); see Nihon Keizai Shinbunsha 2002, pl. 104.

16. These depict Amida and two attendants and are dated 1794 and 1797. See Shibuya Kuritsu Shōtō Bijutsukan 1995, pl. 33 and 34.

17. For information on Hakuin's life and art, see Addiss 1989, 102–129; Rosenfield 1999, 3:20–21; and Yajima 2000. For his writings, see Yampolsky 1971.

18. On Jiun as an artist, see Addiss 1989, 152–158. On Jiun as a Buddhist reformer, see Watt 1984 and 1999.

19. For the textual citation, see Murase et al. 2002, 154. For a possible interpretation of this phrase as a reference to the essential Zen teaching on the relationship between the self and attainment of enlightenment, see Addiss 1989, 157.

20. Biographical information comes from Araki 1975, 1:844.

21. Information on Rengetsu can be found in numerous Japanese exhibition catalogues and in English in Fister 1988b, 144–146, 149–157.

22. For discussion of his paintings within a broader art historical context, see Graham 1992.

23. On the historical importance of this sutra, see Daitō Shuppansha 1991, 274; and Shimizu and Rosenfield 1984, 34.

24. McCallum 1974a and 1974b list Japanese sources that include a few limited-scope pre–World War II studies by local historians. See also Rosenfield 1999, 3:16–17; and Van Alphen et al. 1999. Yanagi published his initial research on Enkū in the journal he edited, *Mingei,* in 1959.

25. On Yanagi's formation of *mingei* theory, see Brandt 1996 and Kikuchi 2004. On Yanagi and the British Arts and Crafts movement, see Conant 1992.

26. On Yanagi's study of Mokujiki, see Brandt 1996, 74–87; and Kikuchi 2004, 44–46. Mokujiki is also featured in the recent Tokyo National Museum exhibition (Tokyo Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan 2006b, pl. 53–65).

27. Discussed briefly in Conant 1992, 9, and more extensively Brandt 1996, esp. 78–88. Yanagi's later conceptualization of *mingei* theory is discussed in chapter 8 in connection with his promotion of the printmaker Munakata Shikō.

28. For representative examples of paintings and sculptures, see Asahi Shinbunsha 1997. For his biography, see Rosenfield 1999, 3:63–64.

29. For the Japanese Folk Craft Museum's statues, see Asahi Shinbunsha 1997, pl. 18, 23, and p. 185 for the history of this group.

30. See Fister 1985/86, 1988a, and 2002, 56–62; and his biography in Rosenfield 1999, 3:113–116.

31. For more on the religious nature of this community and its Nichiren beliefs, see Cranston 2000, 120–124.

32. For various sections of this handscroll, see Fischer et al. 2000, pl. 61–65, and p. 196 for discussion of the scroll. See also Murase 2000, 211–212.

33. For more on this revival of interest in the subject, see Mostow 2004, esp. 138; and 1996.

34. Still, scholars note that Buddhist paintings by Hōitsu and his followers appear with greater frequency than by other Rinpa artists, perhaps because of his status as a monk; see Hosomi Bijutsukan 2001, 62, discussion for pl. 35. For two other late Rinpa-school Buddhist icon paintings by Hōitsu and his follower, Suzuki Kiitsu (1796–1858), respectively, see Ishida and Yamamoto 2002, pl. 14 and 15.

35. For illustrations of the complete set, see Hickman and Satō 1989, 53–57, 114–123.

36. On the appeal of these paintings and their aesthetic qualities, see Yamashita 2003, 211, quoting a conversation that he had about them with Prof. Tsuji Nobuo, his teacher (and mine), who rediscovered the artist in the late twentieth century.

37. For a reproduction of Jakuchū's painting, dated 1789, see McKelway et al. 2005, cat. 59. For the 1885 print, see Hickman and Satō 1989, 27.

38. A handwritten manuscript dated to Meiji 33 (1900) and preserved at the archives of Manpukuji notes that Gen. Akihito Shinnō (1846–1903) took some of the statues to his Tokyo residence.

39. See Takeuchi 1992 for a detailed study of Taiga and his milieu.

40. Reproduced in Kyoto Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan 1990, pl. 57.

41. Reproduced in Ike Taiga 1960, 2:pl. 48. Information on Taiga's motivation for the painting and its date comes from this source.

42. For reproductions of Chen Xian paintings, see Graham 1991, pl. 16; Kobe Shiritsu Hakubutsukan 1991, pl. 25–28; or Kyoto Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan 1993, pl. 96–98.

Part II Introduction

1. On these converts, see Guth 1995; Clarke 1997; and Benfey 2003. Foreign visitors to Meiji Japan left a wealth of travel literature too extensive to enumerate here. Much of it contains perceptive comments on Japanese living habits, religious practices, geography, dwellings, gardens, and arts.

2. For statistics and further comments on these questions, see www.adherents.com/largecom/ com_buddhist.html (accessed 23 April 2005).

Chapter 7. Buddhist Institutions after an Era of Persecution, 1868–1945

1. On these ordinances, see Ketelaar 1990, 8–9; Tamamuro 1997; and Collcutt 1986, 151–159. For case studies, see Hardacre 2002, esp. chaps. 6 and 7.

2. Guth 1993, 105. Evidence for the unabated continuance of Edo-period Buddhist devotional practices is found in the many surviving examples of popular imagery.

3. Their members accompanied the Iwakura Mission. One of their clergy who studied at Oxford, Nanjō Bunyū (1849–1927), later published an influential text on Buddhism in English, *Catalogue of the Chinese Translation of the Buddhist Tripitaka;* see Snodgrass 2003, 119–120.

4. On Buddhist universities, see Ketelaar 1990, 179. On lay involvement, see J. Sawada 2004, esp. chap. 6.

5. On religion in the Meiji constitution, see Ketelaar 1990, 131–132. For the role of Japanese Buddhists in Chicago, see Ketelaar 1990, xii, 139; and a more extended discussion in Snodgrass 2003.

6. Stone 1990, 224. Watanabe, a Jōdo-sect priest, studied Eastern religions in Germany for ten years and taught religious studies at Tokyo University after his return; see Stone 1990, 222–223.

7. This statement is an excerpt from the preface published in Stone 1990, 227. This set, the *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō,* is known more generally as the Taishō *tripitaka.*

8. On fear of Christianity, see Collcutt 1986, 154. On these early efforts at surveying and preserving buildings at temples, see Coaldrake 1996, 248; and Larsen 1994, 31–32.

9. After his year in Europe, he was later dispatched to America (1884–1888) as a consular minister. On Kuki's elitist background, see Conant 1984, 126.

10. On these laws as they pertain to buildings, see Coaldrake 1996, 248–249.

11. On the sect's popular support and relationship with the government, see Collcutt 1986, 161–163; and Ketelaar 1990, 71, 74. See Shinshū Ōtanihashū Jimusho Shuppanbu 1997 for detailed information about this reconstruction.

12. "Nihonga" (lit. "Japanese-style painting") refers to traditional Japanese ink painting created from the Meiji period forward. The term distinguishes modern artists who work in

traditionally derived styles, media, and formats from a new type of Japanese painting that emulated Western traditions (Yōga) and utilized Western formats, materials, and stylistic conventions. The Kyoto Nihonga artist Kōno Bairei (1844–1895) painted lotus flowers for the wall behind the central altar; see Shiga Kenritsu Kindai Bijutsukan 1990a, pl. 23 and 54 (preparatory drawings).

13. Hasegawa 2004. This information is included as background in an article about environmental conservation at the temple initiated by current reconstruction of the Founder's Hall, due to be completed in time for the 750th anniversary of the death of the sect's founder, Shinran, in 2011.

14. See Wendelken 1996, 35–36. In this article, fig. 8, on p. 36, illustrates the original plan for this Hakodate building, but erroneously identifies it as a design for a Main Hall at Higashi Honganji, Kyoto.

15. Information on this reconstruction comes from Coaldrake 1996, 243–249.

16. For more on this, see Larsen 1994, 163, and chap. 5.

17. For more on financing this reconstruction, see Coaldrake 1996, 247. On the most recent repair, see Coaldrake 1986, 45–46.

18. However, carpenters still prefer the native Japanese variety because the Taiwanese wood stains and fluctuates in size in the Japanese climate; see Larsen 1994, 88.

19. Richard Jaffe has been studying these buildings; see Jaffe 2004a, 2004b, and 2006. His forthcoming book, *Seeking Shakyamuni: World Travel and the Reconstruction of Japanese Buddhism* (University of Chicago Press, 2007), deals with these materials. I am grateful for his generosity in sharing unpublished information with me.

20. Itō in general and this building in particular have been objects of much recent research; see Wendelken 2000; Reynolds 2001, 16–20; Kikuchi 2004, 34–95; T. Watanabe 2006; and Jaffe 2006.

21. See Kikuchi 2004, 93–95. For an excellent overview of Fenollosa and Okakrua, see Benfey 2003. They are discussed further below and in chap. 8.

22. Richard Jaffe has found that a slightly earlier temple (Zenpukuji, or Modan dera in Kobe, completed in 1930) also had pews instead of traditional floor-level tatami seating for worshipers; see Jaffe 2006.

23. The emergence of this *shajiyō* style is discussed in Wendleken 1996. Josiah Conder and his students' precedents are discussed in T. Watanabe 1996; Reynolds 2001, 13–14; and Tseng 2004.

24. For an illustration, see Andreasen 1998, 166.

25. Wendelken 2000, 823, suggests a darker side to the Shin-sect support of the imperial government's expansionist plans as well — that its founder had understood that sometimes followers needed to fight when necessary for a "just war."

26. For *busshi* participation in the first and second of these exhibitions in 1877 and 1881, see Tokyo Kokuritsu Bunkazai Kenkyūjo 1996.

27. On the Kōbu Bijutsu Gakko, see Amagai 2003. Western-style sculpture was taught by the Italian artist Vincente Ragusa (1841–1927).

28. The most important dictionary of modern artists, Kawakita 1989, includes entries only on artists specializing in Western categories of fine arts: painting (in native Nihonga and Western Yōga styles), Western-style sculpture, and modern printmakers, who perfected styles that synthesized traditional Japanese and modern Western aesthetics.

29. Information on Meiji *busshi* is hard to come by; for a short discussion of Kyoto sculptors, see Kyoto-fu Bunkazai Hogokikin 1970, 146–147.

30. Following its tradition of hiring the city's best contemporary artists to decorate its halls, the temple commissioned the Nihonga painter Takeuchi Seihō (1864–1942) to paint

heavenly musicians for the ceiling of the second-floor image chamber of this gate, where the Tanaka atelier statues were enshrined; see Shinshū Ōtanihashū Jimusho Shuppanbu 1997, pl. 65.

31. For a frontal view of this triad, see Kyoto-fu Bunkazai Hogokikin 1970, 148–153; or Mizuno 2001, 182.

32. On this sutra and its relation to the Shin sect, see Andreasen 1998, 105; and Daitō Shuppansha 1991, 227.

33. I sincerely thank the priests at Higashi Honganji's administrative offices for allowing me access to this chamber.

34. For his Shaka triad of 1909 in Nanzenji's Lecture Hall, see Kyoto-fu Bunkazai Hogokikin 1970, 156–157.

35. In 1949, this school merged with the Tokyo School of Music and was renamed the Tokyo University of Fine Arts and Music.

36. On Kōun, see Tanaka Shūji 1994, 20–67; Tokushima Kenritsu Kindai Bijutsukan et al. 2002; and Guth 2004a, who translates and discusses passages from his memoirs. His more modern pieces include secular statues for public places, a new concept for Japan, and exhibition pieces such as *Aged Monkey,* now owned by the Tokyo National Museum (discussed further in chap. 8).

37. For illustrations of these Tōdaiji sculptures, see Washizuka 1997, 50; or Mason 2005, pl. 216. For photographs of Takamura Kōun's small-scale models for both the Zenkōji Niō statues, see Tokushima Kenritsu Kindai Bijutsukan et al. 2002, 37.

38. I learned of Isshinji's connection to Ichikawa Danjūrō VIII in a lecture at the University of Kansas, 2 May 2006, by Melinda Takeuchi, "The Apotheosis of Danjūrō the Eighth: Piety or Parody?" She discussed how Danjūrō's fans responded to his death by producing an unprecedented number of woodblock-printed memorial portraits, or *shinie* (around three hundred).

39. The recently retired head priest of the temple, Rev. Takaguchi Yoshiyuki, supplied me with the information on these statues and their makers.

40. One of these, Hōnenji in Takamatsu, first asked permission of Isshinji to copy the idea. Its statues are cast by a professor of sculpture at the Kyoto City University of the Arts. The other is Shōjōkein, in Kyoto, long patronized by the imperial family.

41. On this project, the names of the potters, and illustrations of a few more from this set, see Hata et al. 1976, 155–156, and pl. 62 and 63.

42. Saichō (Dengyō Daishi, 767–822), founder of the Tendai sect, established the temple in 805. It later became famous at the place where the powerful warlord Taira Kiyomori (1118–1181) became a monk and was buried; see Nōfukuji 2005.

43. The replica was designed by Nishimura Kōchō, a famous Buddhist sculptor and professor at the Tokyo University of Fine Arts and Music, further discussed in connection with Otagi Nenbutsuji in chap. 10.

44. On the history of the Edo statue, see Kan'eiji Kyōkabu 1993, section on the Daibutsu, n.p. Only the face remains today, embedded in a plaque in Ueno Park.

45. The Kamakura Buddha lost its building in a tsunami in 1495; the Ueno Daibutsu lost its building in 1873.

46. Walter Weston, considered the father of mountain climbing in Japan, set off on his treks from his home in Kobe, near this Daibutsu.

47. The statue became internationally famous when a large-scale model of it was displayed at the Panama-Pacific International Exposition (which celebrated the opening of the Panama Canal) in San Francisco in 1915; see Kobe Shinbun 1989, 63. One writer even claimed that it was finer than the Daibutsu at Tōdaiji; see Fitch 1913.

Chapter 8: From Icon to Art, 1868–1945

1. For a provocative, recent exhibition catalogue on Buddhist deities represented by Kyoto painters of the prewar period, see Kyoto-shi Bijutsukan 2005.

2. Information on Makimura comes from Conant 1984, 128–129; Collcutt 1986, 159; and Guth 1993, 101.

3. See the obscure and largely forgotten deities discussed in Miyata 1972.

4. I thank Paul Moss for bringing this statue to my attention and for information on its history. See Moss and Rutherston 2004.

5. This museum's earliest acquisitions included Buddhist arts, both sculpture and paintings. For illustrations, see Tokyo Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan 1992, pl. 53–60, 357. On the motivations for this first survey, see Guth 1996–1997, 315–316; and S. Tanaka 1999, 52.

6. On Kuki's motivations for this survey, see S. Tanaka 1999, 53–54; and Conant 1984, 136.

7. His articles appear in issues no. 2 (November 1889), 6 (March 1890), and 7 (April 1890).

8. One of the most important of these new collectors of Buddhist art was industrialist Masuda Takashi (1848–1938); see Guth 1993, 118–119. This law formalized the categories and hierarchies of art that lasted until legislation overhaul in 1950; see Guth 1996–1997, 318; and S. Tanaka 1999. As Guth 1997, 41, points out, these laws regulated and designated art only in religious institutions; the first law to include works in private collections as National Treasures was not enacted until 1929.

9. This series is Tajima 1899–1908. This association published the first five volumes only; the remainder was published privately, mostly by the newly founded Shimbi Shōin Company. For critical analysis of this series, see Murakado 1999, 34; and Rosenfield 1998b, 237. For Kuki's preface, see Kuki 1899.

10. This becomes evident when looking closely at those involved with the production of the Japanese- and French-language editions of the Paris exposition, as suggested by Ellen Conant; see Conant 1991, 85, and nn. 33 and 34.

11. On this exhibition, see the Office of the Imperial Japanese Government Commission to the Japan-British Exhibition 1910 and Sato and Watanabe 1991. For an overview of Japan's participation in this and other earlier exhibitions, see Conant 1991 and 2006.

12. On Hayashi and other Parisian dealers, see Conant 1984, 137; Chang 2002, 21; and Baas 2005, 23. For a general overview of early collectors of Buddhist art, see Rosenfield 1998b.

13. On their travels, see Inaga 1998; Chang 2002; and Maucuer 2005, 25. Duret also helped introduce his friend, the Impressionist painter Claude Monet (1840–1926), to Japanese art.

14. The most famous example is perhaps the one in the San Francisco Japanese Tea Garden, dated 1790, and installed there in 1949; see K. Brown 1999, 32–43. On Chiossone, see Conant 1999.

15. For discussion of this colonialist mentality as impetus for collecting, see Chang 2002, 24, 30–32. On these Bostonian Buddhists, see Guth 1995 and 2004b; and Swinton 2004.

16. As quoted in an English translation in Baas 2005, 22. See also Duret 1874.

17. On Guimet's knowledge of Max Müller's writings, see Conant 1984, 124. On the translation of the *Compendium of Buddhist Images,* see Hoffman 1851 and discussion of this book in Seibu Hyakkaten 1989, 10; and Frank 1991, 20.

18. This museum is now officially known as the Musée National des Arts Asiatiques-Guimet. On its Japanese collection, see Seibu Hyakkaten 1989 and Frank 1991.

19. For a biography of Yamamoto, see Sakai-shi Hakubutsukan 1997, 110–111. The height of the Amida by Yamamoto is 70 cm; the one at Tōji by Tanaka Kōkyō is 138.8 cm.

20. For an illustration of discarded Buddhist statues at Tōshōdaiji in Nara in 1880, see Rosenfield 1998b, fig. 5. See also Morse and Tsuji 1998, which includes Buddhist sculptures once thought to be older but have recently been re-identified as dating from the Meiji period.

21. See Morse and Tsuji 1998 for many examples identified with Meiji-period dates. See Cohen 1992 for a critical study of many of the early American collectors of Asian art.

22. For more on the role of copies in training painters at this school, see V. Weston 2004. In Kyoto, Meiji-period art schools also incorporated copying older works in their curricula, but this happened somewhat later, under influence from this Tokyo school. On the training methods at these schools, see Conant et al. 1995, 84–85. For copies of early Buddhist paintings by Kyoto artists owned by the Kyoto City University of Arts, see Kyoto Shiritsu Geijutsu Daigaku Fuzoku Toshokan 1987.

23. Two exhibition catalogues illustrate and discuss these copies: Shiga Kenritsu Kindai Bijutsukan 1990b and Tokyo Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan 2005; the latter includes a reprint (without the illustrations included in the original) of an older article (A. Satō 1977), on the display of copies at the Tokyo Imperial Museum.

24. Published in Asano et al. 1967–1970, 1:pl. 242. Study of this painting soon after its acquisition took place during a graduate seminar at the University of Kansas offered by Christine Guth. My husband, David Dunfield, then a graduate student in Asian art, conducted the research that determined the painting to be a forgery. I draw on his work here.

25. Provenance information comes from Trevor's son, who donated the painting to the Nelson-Atkins Museum. Since Freer made trips to Japan and Asia between 1895 and 1911, the painting must date from that time. I have been unable to determine on which trip to Japan Trevor accompanied Freer.

26. For other pictures of this theme by Kyōsai, see Clark 1993, pl. 60 and 62.

27. On Kyōsai's Buddhist devotion see Clark 1993, 76, and pl. 43 and 46.

28. The entire album is illustrated in Kobayashi and Kōno 1992, 92–94, 122–127.

29. See Conant 1984, 131; and Clark 1993, pl. 26, 45, and 105.

30. Morikawa previously studied Maruyama-school painting, then took up carving wooden Nara dolls (*Nara ningyo*) and, simultaneously, became famous as a comic *kyōgen* theater actor; see Nara Kenritsu Bijutsukan 1993. On his copies of older Buddhist sculpture, see Tokyo Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan 2005, 8.

31. For a critical assessment of Japan's participation in this exhibition, see Conant 2006. See also Tokyo Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan 1997 for a representative sampling of Japanese art displayed there.

32. Published in Mason 2005, pl. 421.

33. For an illustration of the Akishinodera piece, see Nakano et al. 1981. This enigmatic piece has a wood-core, dry-lacquer head datable to the eighth or ninth century placed atop a carved wooden body of the thirteenth century.

34. Only the prize-winning pieces from this fair were acquired afterwards by the Tokyo Imperial Museum. The Tokyo School of Fine Arts purchased Hisakazu's statue several years later directly from the artist. My information on this piece comes from Yokomizo 2003.

35. See the recent exhibition catalogue, Kagoshima Shiritsu Bijutsukan 2004.

36. On *Shirakaba,* see Rimer 1987, 46; Menzies 1998, 111–112; Weisenfeld 2002, 20–22, 272, n. 28; and Kikuchi 2004, 4, 9–11. Kikuchi 2004, 77 and 257, nn. 131–135, cites specific issues of the journal between 1920 and 1923 that include Buddhist materials.

37. This essay is discussed in Rimer 1987, 59–60, and 1995b, 49; Guth 1996b, 19; and

Weisenfeld 2002, 24; and is translated in Hiroaki Sato 1992, 180–186. See Guth 2004a, 167–179, for insightful comments on Kōtarō's philosophy and examples of his own sculpture.

38. However, later scholars of the Kyoto school after Nishida's retirement and through the World War II years, moved their scholarly inquiries in another direction, which justified the expansionist policies of the Japanese military.

39. On Yuima and Prince Shōtoku as models, see Ketelaar 1990, 185. On Okakura and Fenollosa, see D. Satō 1996, 115; and V. Weston 2004, 145–150. I do not address Buddhist subject matter in paintings by Nihonga artists who were disciples of Okakura and Fenollosa in this book because I believe those materials are more appropriately categorized as historical painting rather than modern Buddhist painting.

40. For biographical information, I draw on Kyoto Furitsu Dōmoto Inshō Bijutsukan 1995; Conant et al. 1995, 291; and Morioka and Berry 1999, 282–283.

41. I am deeply indebted to Columbia University graduate student Tsuchikane Yasuko, currently completing a dissertation about Dōmoto Inshō's wall paintings, for sharing her discovery that Inshō's personal library contains numerous texts on Buddhism, many first published in the second and third decades of the twentieth century. She includes translations of many of his Buddhist writings in her dissertation.

42. For a brief discussion of Inshō's wartime temple wall paintings, see Nagashima 2004, 101–107.

43. On Teiten, see Conant et al. 1995, 98–99. Dōmoto's 1922 Teiten submission portrayed Kariteimo (Skt. Hārītī), a protector of children, now in the Kyoto National Museum of Modern Art collection.

44. My information on this artist comes from Szostak n.d.; Menzies 1998, 99; Morioka and Berry 1999, 212–213; Hoshino Garō 2000; and Kasaoka, Nerima, and Kyoto 2003.

45. On the history of this and other art schools in Kyoto, see Conant et al. 1995, 84–85.

46. Morioka and Berry 1999, 213, translate this phrase as "religious-social consciousness." For the original text, see Hoshino Garō 2000, 38.

47. According to James Ketelaar, these humanitarian concerns, while not new to Buddhism, became integral to the reconfiguration of Buddhism as a modern, cosmopolitan religion whose central tenets emphasized support of the Japanese nation and its people; see Ketelaar 1990, 132–134.

48. See Kasaoka, Nerima, and Kyoto 2003, pl. 19–24.

49. Biographical information comes from Conant et al. 1995, 315–316, and a recent retrospective exhibition catalogue, Kyoto Kokuritsu Kindai Bijutsukan 2005.

50. On the formation and aims of this group, see Conant et al. 1995, 106–107; and Szostack 2005. I am also grateful to John Szostack, who shared with me additional information on the group's manifesto and from whose private correspondence with me I quote the phrase "singular, symbolic religion."

51. Yanagi's early ideas about *mingei* have already been discussed in chapter 6 in connection with the sculptors Enkū and Mokujiki.

52. From Yasuda 1958, 810; and also repeated in Kikuchi 2004, 209–210. For related writings by Munakata, see Hockley 2004, 81.

53. For discussion of this set and illustrations of all the panels, see Singer and Kakeya 2002, 55, 67–71.

54. Hockley 2004 discusses this characterization at great length.

Chapter 9: Buddhist Sites of Worship, 1945–2005

1. See Reynolds 2001, esp. 249–254, for an erudite study of the growing appreciation for modernist architectural aesthetics in Japan centered on Maekawa Kunio (1905–1986).

2. In 1919 urban planning laws included fire-prevention districts only for city centers. On building codes in Japan, see Ōhashi 1993.

3. On the popular appeal of the statue and its history, see Kinoshita 1998.

4. His statue is thought to date from around the time the Statue of Liberty was installed in New York, before he became a professor at the Tokyo School of Fine Arts; see Hashizume 1998, 28–29.

5. Discussed in Hashizume 1998, 29; for an illustration, see p. 26.

6. See the Web site: www41.tok2.com/home/kanihei5/saga-dabutu.html (accessed 31 July 2006). This is part of a broader Web site (author not identified) titled "Funky Buddha Experience" (Chinji daidōjō).

7. Information from www41.tok2.com/home/kanihei5/syurakuen.html (accessed 30 July 2006). The statue takes its name from the magnificent palatial castle Jurakudai, which Toyotomi Hideyoshi erected in Kyoto in 1587.

8. It was a featured destination for troops to visit in their free time listed in a publication of the 24th Infantry Division, *Scenario—Troop Information & Education Feature* (1/9, 6 May 1949). For photos and information on this statue, see www41.tok2.com/home/kanihei5/beppudaibutu.html (accessed 30 July 2006).

9. Those involved in this first phase included Kaneko Kentarō (1853–1942), one of the drafters of the Meiji Constitution; Kiyoura Keigo (1850–1942), son of a Buddhist priest and a pacifist government minister; and, curiously, Tōyama Mitsuru (1855–1944), a right-wing politician who advocated expansion into Asia.

10. For his biography, see Kawakita 1989, 367–368.

11. See Kisala 1999.

12. For an official history of the temple and information on his art collection, see Setoda-chō Kyōikuiinkai 2001.

13. See Setoda-chō Kyōikuiinkai 2001 for old photos, newspaper publicity, and official records.

14. Attendance figures come from a personal interview in October 2003 with the present head of the temple, Reverend Kōsō, the founder's grandson.

15. Tsuzuki 2001, 57; and Richie 2002, 150–155.

16. Old photos in the temple's collection show Miki Sōsaku's statues prior to the addition of color. In that state, the fine quality of his carving is more clearly evident.

17. For an aerial photo from the late 1960s, see Nara Rokudaiji Taikan Kankōkai 1970, pl. 1.

18. S. Brown 1989, 41. For a drawing showing the grand reconstruction plan circa 1975, see Enders and Gutschow 1998, 28.

19. On *fukugen,* see Enders and Gutschow 1998, esp. 42–56.

20. For an illustration, see Mason 2005, pl. 75; or Enders and Gutschow 1998, 47, pl. 51.

21. For illustrations of both the old and new pagodas, see Enders and Gutschow 1998, 48. For just the east one, see Mason 2005, pl. 76.

22. For illustrations of these donations and discussion of the restoration process, see Hossōshū Daihonzan Yakushiji 2002.

23. For a selection of his other buildings, see Japan Architect 1975 and 1984.

24. For illustrations of each of these levels, see Shinshōji 1984.

25. Information on this temple and its art comes from several interviews with Reverend Takaguchi between 2001 and 2006. For illustrations of all but his most recent buildings at Isshinji, see Meisei Shuppan 1997, 98–104.

26. They represent women from different parts of the Buddhist world: India, Sri Lanka, Korea, and Japan.

27. For a selection, see Meisei Shuppan 1997.

28. From the architect's official Web site: www.takamatsu.co.jp/ (accessed 30 January 2006).

29. Shinshū Honbyō is the official name for the Shin-sect temple headquartered at Higashi Honganji, adopted in 1987, although the older, more familiar name for the temple remains in popular use. For an aerial view of the exterior and photos of the interior of this new building, see Shinshū Ōtanihashū Jimusho Shuppanbu 2000, 3, 16–17.

30. Other architects active in the late 1990s also designed underground structures at old temple complexes for similar reasons. Most famous is Andō Tadao's Water Temple (Honpukuji) on Awaji Island, completed in 1991, published in Meisei Shuppan 1997, 130–136; and Andō et al. 2003, 118–127.

31. For additional photos of the building, see Aisu Rabo 1998. The building has also been published in the journal *Shinkenchiku* (July 1998: 104), and its model appears in Takamatsu and Vitta 1996, 160–165.

32. From an interview with the architect in Buck 2000, 141.

33. Published in Gallery O 1998.

34. See Pollack 2001; *Shinkenchiku* (November 2000: 14–15); and "Liquid Stone: New Architecture in Concrete," an online exhibition at the National Building Museum, Washington, D.C: www.nbm.org/liquid_stone/home.html (accessed 31 January 2006).

35. From the architect's Web site: www.yamaguchi-a.jp/work_e/white.htm (accessed 31 January 2006).

36. O'Doherty 1976/1986, 14. This book describes why modern art looks best in the empty gallery space of the "white cube."

37. On the value of contextual displays, see Branham 1994/95. For an example of one of these altars, see the 1987 Japanese gallery at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, illustrated in Ford 1987, 14–15.

38. Taniguchi is most famous in the United States for his recent addition to New York's Museum of Modern Art. He studied architecture at Keio and Harvard Universities and worked briefly for Walter Gropius (1883–1969), an influential German Bauhaus-school modernist architect.

39. From the Web site www.kousanji.or.jp/english/speranza/kuetani.html (accessed 30 January 2006).

Chapter 10: Visualizing Faith, 1945–2005

1. E.g., they never use Western sandpaper or electric sanders to finish their wood sculptures.

2. On the Matsuhisa atelier and Sōrin in particular, see Matsuhisa 1992.

3. Her large, abstract wall pieces can be found in many public spaces, including the Imperial Hotel in Tokyo and the Brighton Hotel in Kyoto.

4. Eri Sayoko contributed to a recent scholarly study of ancient Buddhist images that incorporate the technique; see Ariga 1997, 86–93. Several of her original pieces are illustrated there.

5. For a Kamakura-period painting of the theme now in the Cleveland Museum of Art,

and further discussion of the meaning of the iconography, see Rosenfield and ten Grotenhuis 1979, pl. 17.

6. Information from an interview with Mr. Mukōyoshi in May 2003.

7. On contemporary pilgrimages in Japan, see Reader 1996 and 2005; Hoshino 1997; and Formanek 1998.

8. A recent exhibition focusing on the Shikoku circuit arranged to simulate a sequential walk to the eighty-eight temples along this route included a gift shop, through which visitors exited, that sold amulets and votive icons; see Mainichi Shinbunsha 2002.

9. Many clergy of this sect will perform these rites if asked by parishioners; see LaFleur 1998, 392.

10. On this debate, see Werblowky 1991; LaFleur 1992 and 1998; Hardacre 1997a; and Green 1999. Memorial rites are, of course, canonical, but those for aborted fetuses are not.

11. See Collcutt 2006 for an insightful study of belief in this Kannon during the Edo and Meiji periods, and especially the illustration of the stone Kannon at Kinshōji in Chiba Prefecture, fig. 8.

12. The Jōdo-sect nunnery of Daihongan at Zenkōji is also famous for *mizuko kuyō* rites.

13. Information from correspondence with the temple in 2005.

14. This move occurred following the Main Hall's designation as an Important Cultural Property in the late Meiji period. Because space constraints precluded its preservation at its existing location, it was disassembled and reconstructed at the new site; see Tamamuro 1992, 81.

15. For basic information on this temple in English, see Addiss and Seo 1996, 51–52.

16. See Baas and Jacob 2004; Baas 2005; and Elliott and Tazzi 2003; the last is an exhibition catalogue divided into sections provocatively titled "Arcadia," "Nirvana," "Desire," and "Harmony."

17. For others, see Ōga 1986–1987; and Yamaguchi Kenritsu Bijutsukan 1986.

18. For a short biography, see Kawakita 1989, 176. Another early, modern artist who created wooden sculptures for both temples and the art world was Hirakushi Denchū (1872–1979), a professor at the Tokyo School of Fine Arts; see Ibara-shi Denchū Bijutsukan 2003.

19. The Atami Municipal Sawada Seikō Memorial Museum and the Tanimura Art Museum in Itoigawa, Niigata Prefecture, which is the final building designed by the famed modernist architect Murano Togo (1891–1984).

20. Although Seikō never published statements about his philosophy of art and attitudes towards the making of Buddhist sculpture himself, he did speak about these issues in interviews that were published in many magazine and newspaper articles during his lifetime. Curators at the Atami Municipal Sawada Seikō Memorial Museum compiled his comments, which are as yet unpublished. I am grateful that they gave me copies of these writings. They form the basis of my comments about Seikō's attitudes on art and religion.

21. This is a paraphrase of a quote from Atami Shiritsu Atami Seikō Kinenkan 1988, 5.

22. For the Kannon, see Bogel 2002. The Aizen Myōō is published in Atami Shiritsu Sawada Seikō Kinenkan 2001, 163, fig. 90.

23. Nakamura discusses his motivation for these statues in Nakamura 2002. My quotations of his statements in this discussion of his work come from this volume, whose pages are unnumbered.

24. For an English biography and extended bibliography, see Conant et al. 1995, 296, 340. Information about Hirayama's attitude towards religion comes from a personal interview with his attorney, Mr. Hyotani Toshiyuki, and his foundation's secretary, Mr. Muraki Shigeru (in May 2006).

25. This memoir is included in Hirayama 1988, 15–22. I thank two curators at the Hiro-

shima Prefectural Museum of Art, Fukuda Hiroko and Nagai Akio, for providing me with this reference.

26. From a small, English-language booklet, *A Prayer for Peace,* by Hirayama Ikuo, UNESCO Goodwill Ambassador (ca. 2005), privately distributed by Hirayama's Foundation for Cultural Heritage and Art Research.

27. For published works by this artist, see Weiermair and Matt 1997, 129–135; and Fruitmarket Gallery 1994, 62.

28. Information on Yamanaka's life and art comes from personal interviews with the artist in June 2005 and May 2006.

29. For biographical information and exhibition catalogues of his work, see Maeda 1989 and Kanagawa Kenritsu Kindai Bijutsukan 2002, which includes a copious listing of major publications about his art (46–51).

30. A recent issue of the popular Buddhist magazine *Daihōrin* (Great Wheel of the Law) (73[6] [2006]: 5–19], features Maeda's paintings, including recently completed ceiling panels for the Rinzai Zen temple of Nanyōji near Tokyo.

31. ten Grotenhuis 1999, 37. For a representative example of this mandala at Tōji, see plate 6.

32. Ōga 1986–1987, 3:118.

33. Comment by Umehara Takeshi, former director of the International Research Center for Japanese Studies, in Maeda 1989 (unpaginated English-language preface).

34. Hiratsuka-shi Bijutsukan 1994, 8. For a bibliography of his extensive writings on his artistic philosophy, see pp. 96–97.

35. Comment from an interview in the online *Journal of Contemporary Art* (1998), www.jca-online.com/mori.html (accessed 3 July 2005).

36. Baas and Jacob 2004, 259.

37. Quotation from the transcript of a DVD about him, Kyoto Prefecture 2004.

38. On Kandinsky and Buddhism, see Baas 2005, 60–69.

39. For these paintings and others in a similar vein, see Kyoto Furitsu Dōmoto Inshō Bijutsukan 1995.

40. Kyoto Furitsu Dōmoto Inshō Bijutsukan 1995, 117–118. For more on Tapié in connection with his promotion of Japanese avant-garde artists, see Munroe 1994, 94–97; and Rimer 1995a, 67.

41. For more on this movement, see Munroe 1994, chap. 10.

42. For discussion of this work, see Tomii 1999, 19. As Tomii notes, this Greek letter Ψ is a symbol of psychology, here referring to the psyche, and is used in an important quantum mechanics equation (Tomii 1999, 28, n. 37).

43. This is actually one of two contemporary scholarly interpretations of how to "read" the images; an alternative would be to start at the lower right box and move upward from there in a counterclockwise direction, ending at the central square (ten Grotenhuis 1999, 38).

44. This text is an excerpt from a translation of the entire handbill by Tomii Reiko for an unpublished handout for the exhibition Global Conceptualism (Camnitzer et al. 1999). I am grateful for her permission to reproduce it here.

45. These comments come from his artist's statement in Farmer 1996.

46. On the Buddhist influence in Cage's work, see, e.g., Baas 2005, 164–177.

Character Glossary

Akino Fuku 秋野不矩
Akishinodera 秋篠寺
ama monzeki 尼門跡
Andō Hiroshige 安藤広重
Andō Tadao 安藤忠雄
aragoto 荒事
Asano Kiyoshi 浅野清
Asano Mitsuakira 浅野光晟

bakufu 幕府
Banryūji 蟠龍寺
Beppu Daibutsu 別府大仏
bodaiji 菩提寺
busshari 仏舎利
busshi 仏師
bussho 仏所
Busshōzan Hōnenji 仏生山法然寺
Butsuzō zui 仏像図彙
Byakue Kannon 白衣観音
Byakushibutsu 辟支佛
Byōdōin 平等院

Chen Xian (Jp. Chin Ken) 陳賢
Chin Genkō (Ch. Chen Xuanxing) 陳玄興
chingo kokka bukkyō 鎮護国家仏教
Chion'in 知恩院
Chisokuin 知促院
chōkoku 彫刻
Chōon Dōkai 潮音道海
Chōshōji 長勝寺

Dai busshi 大仏師
Daienji 大円寺
Daikanjin 大勧進
Daishōin 大照院
Daiyūhōden 大雄宝殿
Daiten Kenjō 大典顕常

dankadera 檀家寺
dannadera 旦(檀)那寺
daibutsu 大仏
degaichō 出開帳
Doi Toshikatsu 土井利勝
Dōmoto Inshō 堂本印象

ebusshi 画仏師
edokoro 画(絵)所
Egoku Dōmyō 慧極道明
Eitaiji 永代寺
Ekōin 回向院
ema 絵馬
Enkū Shōnin 円空聖人
Enryakuji 延暦寺
Eri Kōkei 江里廉慧
Eri Sayoko 江里佐代子
eshi 画師
etoki 絵解き

Fugen'in 普賢院
Fūhime 富姫
Fukagawa Fudōdō 深川不動堂
fukko yamatoe 復古大和絵
Fukusaiji 福斉寺
Fumonji 普門寺

gafu 画譜
Gakkai Chōja 月蓋長者
Gankai 願海
gasshō zukuri 合掌造り
Genshin 玄信
Gizan 義山
Goeidō 御影堂
Gohimitsu 五秘密
Gojiin 護持院
Gokayama Ainokura 五箇山相倉
Gokokuji 護国寺

Gomadō 護摩堂
Gomizunoo 五水尾
Gōtokuji 豪徳寺
goyō eshi 御用絵師
Guan Xiu (Jp. Kankyū) 貫休

Hachijō Toshihito 八条智仁
Hachijō Toshitada 八条智忠
Hada (Hata) Teruo 秦テルヲ
haibutsu kishaku 廃仏毀釈
Hakuin Ekaku 白隠慧鶴
Han Dōsei (Ch. Fan Daosheng) 范道生
Hasedera 長谷寺
Hasegawa Settan 長谷川雪旦
Hasegawa Settei 長谷川雪提
Hatta Ryōkei 八田了慶
hayari gami 流行神
hibutsu 秘仏
Hieizan 比叡山
Higashi Honganji 東本願寺
Hirayama Ikuo 平山郁夫
Hishikawa Moronobu 菱川師宣
Hōkōji 方広寺
Hon'ami Kōetsu 本阿弥光悦
Hōnenji 法然寺
honji suijaku 本地垂迹
Honjō 本庄
Honsenji 品川寺
honzan matsuji 本山末寺
Hōonji 報恩寺
Hōryūji 法隆寺
Hossō 法相
Hōyōji 法養寺
Hōzan Tankai 宝山湛海
Hōzanji 宝山寺
Hyakutakuhaiji 百沢廃寺

Ichikawa Danjūrō 市川団十郎
Ichikawa Kuzō 市川九蔵
Ihaidō 位牌堂
Ike Taiga 池大雅
Imamura Hajime 今村源
Imamura Kyūbei 今村久兵衛
Imamura Teruhisa 今村輝久
Ingen Ryūki (Ch. Yinyuan Longqi) 隠元隆琦
Iseya Kakichirō 伊勢屋嘉吉郎
Ishikawa Mitsuaki (alt. Kōmei) 石川光明
Isshinji 一心寺
Itō Chūta 伊東忠太
Itō Jakuchū 伊藤若冲
Itsunen (Ch. Yiran) 逸念
Iwakisan Jinja 岩木山神社
Iwayadera 岩屋寺
Izuna Gongen 飯縄権現

Jige kaden 地下家傳
jikkai 十界
jinbi 深秘
Jingōji 神護寺
Jinkōin 神光院
jisha bugyō 寺社奉行
Jishōin 自昌院
Jitsuden Dōkin 実伝道鈞
Jiun Onkō 慈雲 飲光
jōroku 丈六
Jōshinji 浄眞寺
Joshū Chōrō 如周長老
Jūōdō 十王堂
Jurakuen Daibutsu 聚楽園大仏

kaichō 開帳
kaidan meguri 戒壇廻り
Kakushū Genkō (Sumiyoshi Hironatsu) 鶴洲元翯（住吉広夏）
Kanbe Mineo 神戸峰男
Kanchō 寛朝
Kan'eiji 寛永寺
Kannon reigenki 観音霊験記
Kano Einō 狩野永納
Kano Kazunobu (alt. Isshin) 狩野一信
Kano Minenobu 狩野岑信
Kano Sansetsu 狩野山雪
Kano Tan'yū 狩野探幽
Kano Tōhaku 狩野洞白
Kano Tsunenobu 狩野常信
Kano Yasunobu 狩野安信
Kaoku Shōnin 珂億上人
Kaseki Shōnin 珂碩上人
Katō Nobukiyo 加藤信清
Kawai Kanjirō 河井寛次郎
Kawanabe Kyōsai 川鍋暁済
Kazan Tennō 華山天王
Keishōin 桂昌院
Kenchōji 建長寺
Kenninji 建仁寺
Kikuchi Yōsai 菊池容斎

Kimura Ryōtaku 木村了琢
Kimura Shingorō 木村新五郎
Kimura Tokuetsu 木村徳悦
Kimura Tokuō 木村徳応
Kino Shūshin 紀の秀信
Kinryūzan 金龍山
Kishi Ganku 岸岸駒
Kitain 喜多院
Kiura (Sakura) Sōgorō 木浦（佐倉）宗吾郎
kō 講
Kōbō Daishi 弘法大師
Kōetsuji 光悦寺
Kōfukuji (Nagasaki) 廣福寺
Kōfukuji (Nara) 興福寺
Kōganji 高岩寺
koji 居士
Kōjō 庚乗
Kokawadera 粉河寺
Kōkei 公慶
Kōkō Tennō 光孝天皇
kokubunji 国分寺
Kokuzenji 国前寺
Kondō Kōmei 近藤弘明
Kōon 庚音
Kōsanji 耕三寺
Kōsanji Kōsō Wajo 耕三寺耕三和上
Kōyasan 高野山
Kōsen Shōton (Ch. Kao Chuan Xing Tong) 高泉性敦
Kōsen zenshi hōen ryaku shū 高線禅師法苑略集
Kōshō 庚正
Kōtokuin 高徳院
Kōyō no mon 孝養の門
Kōyū 庚猶
Kōyū 庚祐 (act. 1670–1694)
Kuetani Kazutō 机谷一東
Kuhon Butsu Jōshinji 九品仏淨眞寺
Kuhonzan Yuizainenbutsu'in Jōshinji 九品山唯在念仏院淨眞寺
Kūkai 空海
Kuki Ryūichi 九鬼隆一
Kumano kanjin jikkai mandara 熊野観心十界曼荼羅
kusōzu 九相図
Kyōhabutae 京羽二重

machi busshi 町仏師
machi eshi 町絵師
Machida Hisanari 町田久成
Maeda Jōsaku 前田常作
Maeda Toshitsune 前田利常
maedachi 前立ち
manji 卍
Manpukuji 万福寺
Maruyama 円山
Maruyama Ōkyo 円山応挙
Matsudaira 松平
Matsudaira Yorishige 松平頼重
Matsuhisa Hōrin 松久朋琳
Matsuhisa Kayū 松久佳遊
Matsuhisa Maya 松久真や
Matsuhisa Sōrin 松久宗琳
Matsumoto Ryōzan 松本良山
Matsuzawa Yutaka 松沢宥
Merōfu Kannon 馬郎婦観音
Miki Sōsaku 三木宗策
Minchō 明兆
mingei 民芸
Miraishin no Oka 未来心の丘
misemono 見世物
mizuko kuyō 水子供養
Mokuan Shōtō (Ch. Muan Xingtao) 木庵性瑫
Mokujiki Myōman (alt. Gyōdō, Gogyō) 木喰明満（行道, 五行）
monzeki 門跡
Mori Sosen 森狙仙
Mori Tessan (alt. Tetsuzan) 森鉄山
Mōri Yoshinari 毛利吉就
Morikawa Toen 森川杜園
Muga Sōzan Mokusenji 無我相山黙仙寺
Mūkoyoshi Yuboku 向吉悠睦
Munakata Shikō 棟方志功
Murakami Kagaku 村上華岳
Myōkenzan 妙見山
Myōryūji 妙立寺

Nakamura Keiboku 中村佳睦
Nakamura Shinya 中村晋也
Nanjō Masahyōe 南条荘兵衛
Nankōbō Tenkai 南光坊天海
Nanzenji 南禅寺
Naritasan Bunjin Fudō 成田山分身不動
Naritasan Shinshōji 成田山新勝寺
natabori 鉈彫
Natadera 那谷寺

Nehandō 涅槃堂
Nihonji 日本寺
Niiro Chūnosuke 新納忠之介
Nikkō Tōshōgū 日光東照宮
Ninnaji 仁和寺
Ninnō kyō 仁王経
Nishi Honganji 西本願寺
Nishida Kitarō 西田幾多郎
Nishimura Kōchō 西村公朝
Nishioka Tsunekazu 西岡常一
Nishiyama Suishō 西山翠嶂
Nisondō 二尊堂
Nōfukuji 能福寺

Oda Nobunaga 織田信長
Ōfuna Kannonji 大船観音寺
Ōka Minoru 岡實
Okakura Kakuzō (Tenshin) 岡倉覚三（天心）
okotsu butsu お骨仏
Ōkura Jirō 大倉侍郎
Ōta Hirotarō 太田博太郎
Ōta Rokuemon (Kamaroku) 太田六右衛門（釜六）
Ōtagaki Rengetsu 大田垣蓮月
Otagi Nenbutsuji 愛宕念佛寺
otogi zōshi 御伽草子
ōtsue 大津絵
Ōyama 大山

Qin Gao (Jp. Kinkō) 琴高

Raigōdō 来迎堂
reibyō 霊びょう
Reizei Tamechika 冷泉為恭
Rennyō 蓮如
Ri Shaogan (Ch. Li Xiaogan) 李暁剛
Rinnōji 輪王寺
Rinsenji 林泉寺
Rokkadō 六角堂
Rushana 留遮那
Ryōkei Shōsen 龍渓性潜
Ryōken 亮賢
Ryōmen Sukuna 両面宿儺
Ryūkōji 龍興寺

saikoku junrei 西国巡礼
Saishōin 最勝院
Saitō Gesshin 斉藤月岑
Saitō Kōdō 斉藤晃道
Sakai Hōitsu 酒井抱一
Sakon Sadatsuna Tokuei 左近貞綱徳栄
Sanbutsudō 三仏堂
sankei mandara 参詣曼荼羅
Sanzen Butsudō 三千仏堂
Sawada Seikō 澤田政廣
sazaedō さざえ堂
Seirei 星嶺
Sekihōji 石峰寺
Senkōji 千光寺
Sennyūji 泉通寺
Sensōji 浅草寺
shasei 写生
Shibarare Jizō 縛られ地蔵
Shichijō bussho 七条仏所
Shijō 志誠
Shikoku henro 四国遍路
Shimada (Ki) Motonao (Randō) 島田（紀）元直（鸞洞）
Shimizu Ryūkei 清水隆慶
Shimbi Taikan 心美大観
shinbutsu bunri 神仏分離
Shingan 心岩
Shinran 親鸞
Shinshū Honbyō 真宗本廟
Shiokawa Bunrin 塩川文麟
Shōbōritsu 正法律
Shōhan Shōnin 照範上人
Shōjō 猩々
Shōkadō Shōjō 松花堂昭乗
Shōkokuji 相国寺
Shōun Genkei 松雲元慶
Shōzan Gen'yō 照山元瑤
Shuchō Hōshin'nō 守澄法親皇
Shukuin Busshi 宿院仏師
Shussan Shaka 出山釈迦
Sōfukuji 崇福寺
Sōnenji 相念寺
Sumiyoshi Jokei 住吉如慶

Taichō 泰澄
Taiyūin Reibyō 大猷院霊びょう
Takagamine 鷹が峰
Takaguchi Yoshiyuki 高口恭行
Takahashi Hōun 高橋鳳雲
Takamatsu Shin 高松伸
Takamura Kōtarō 高村光太郎
Takamura Kōun 高村光雲

Takamura Tōun 高村東雲
Takaōsan 高尾山
Takei Saian 竹井蔡庵
Takeuchi Hisakazu (alt. Kyūichi) 竹内久一
Takuhō Dōshū 卓峰道秀
Tanaka Bunya 田中文弥
Tanaka Kōkyō 田中弘教
Tanaka Mon'a 田中紋阿
Tanaka Totsugen 田中訥言
Tanaka Uchikurasuke 田中内蔵丞
Tange Kenzō 丹下健三
Taniguchi Yoshio 谷口吉生
Tenjin Hōshin'nō 天真法親王
Tenkei Shōshū 天圭照周
Ten'onzan Gohyaku Rakanji 天恩山五百羅漢寺
terauke shūmon 寺請宗門
Tetsugen Dōkō 鉄眼道光
Tetsugyū Dōki 鉄牛道機
Tōdaiji 東大寺
Tōeizan 東叡山
Tōfukuji 東福寺
Tōfukumon'in 東福門院
Tōji 東寺
Tōkōji 東光寺
Tokugawa Hidetada 徳川秀忠
Tokugawa Iemitsu 徳川家光
Tokugawa Ietsuna 徳川家綱
Tokugawa Ieyasu 徳川家康
Tokugawa Tsunayoshi 徳川綱吉
Tomioka Hachimansha 富岡八幡社
Torii Kiyomitsu 鳥居清満
Torii Kiyonobu 鳥居清信
Tosa Hidenobu 土佐秀信
Tosa Mitsuyoshi 土佐光芳
Tosa Sakyō Ryōgen Masahisa 土佐左京亮源正久
Tōshōji 東勝寺
Totsuka Shichibei 戸塚七兵衛
Toyotomi Hideyoshi 豊臣秀吉
Tsubai Minbu 椿井民部
Tsubai Minbu Inkei 椿民部尹慶
Tsubai Minbu Kenkei 椿民部賢慶
Tsugaru 津軽
Tsukiji Honganji 築地本願寺
Tsuwamono kongen Soga 兵根源曽我

Uda Tennō 宇多天皇
Ugokazu no mikoto 動かずの尊
Ukita Ikkei 浮田一慧
Utagawa Kunisada 歌川国貞
Utagawa Kunisato 歌川国郷
Utagawa Kuniyoshi 歌川国吉
Utagawa Toyokuni 歌川豊国
Utagawa Toyokuni III (Kunisada) 歌川豊国（国貞）

Wada Gozan (Gesshin) 和田呉山（月心）
Watsuji Tetsurō 和辻哲郎

Yakuōin 薬王院
Yakushiji 薬師寺
Yamaguchi Takashi 山口高志
Yamamoto Junkei 山本順慶
Yamamoto Mosuke 山本茂助 (alt. char for *suke*: 祐)
Yamanaka Manabu 山中学
Yamazaki Chōun 山崎朝雲
Yanagi Sōetsu (alt. Muneyoshi) 柳宗悦
Yobiko *Daibutsu* 呼子大仏
Yokoyama Take 横山竹
Yoshida Isoya 吉田五十八
Yoshiminedera 善峰寺
Yonehara Unkai 米原雲海
Yushima Seidō 湯島聖堂

Zenkan kojitsu 前賢故実
Zenkōji 善光寺
Zenrin shōkisen 禅林象器箋
Zenzai Dōji 善哉童子
zō 像
Zōho shoshū butsuzō zui 増補諸集仏像図彙
Zōjōji 増上寺
Zuisenji 瑞専寺
Zuishōji 瑞聖寺
zushi 厨子

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Index

Bold page numbers refer to illustrations.

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